AMATEKA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA RUHENGERI

Kigali, Mata 2018

IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Gukora ubushakashatsi kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi biri mu nshingano za Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG), nk'uko biteganywa mu ngingo ya 2 y'Itegeko N° 09/2007 ryo kuwa 16/02/2007 rigena inshingano, imiterere n'imikorere bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo Kurwanya Jenoside.

Muri iki gihe, ubushakashatsi bukorwa na CNLG buribanda ku kwandika amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu zahoze ari Perefegitura mu 1994, hagaragazwa ibimenyetso byerekana itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'ingaruka zayo ku gihugu muri rusange, no ku bacitse ku icumu by'umwihariko.

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 yateguwe n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa Leta, yifashisha inzego zayo zitandukanye zirimo iza gisirikare, inzego z'ibanze (Perefegitura, Superefegitura na Komini), itangazamakuru, amashyaka ya Politiki, amadini n'urubyiruko.

Kugeza ubu, hari ubushakashatsi bwakozwe n'abantu batandukanye bwerekanye uko Jenoside yateguwe ku rwego rw'Igihugu, uruhare rw'amahanga muri Jenoside, ndetse habayeho n'imanza zitandukanye mu gihugu (izaciwe n'Inkiko Gacaca n'izindi Nkiko zisanzwe) no hanze (izaciwe n'Urukiko Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda-TPIR, n'izabereye mu bindi bihugu) zagaragaje uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa.

N'ubwo Jenoside yateguwe ku rwego rw'Igihugu, hari umwihariko wa buri Perefegitura. Ni muri urwo rwego CNLG yakoze ubushakashatsi bugaragaza itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yakomokagamo abayobozi benshi bo mu nzego za Leta n'iza gisirikare biganjemo abateguye Jenoside kandi bagashishikariza ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo. Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ikaba kandi yarakorewemo igeragezwa rya Jenoside, aho kuva muri Mutarama 1991 hishwe Abatutsi benshi muri Komini Nkuli, Mukingo, Kinigi, Kigombe, Nkumba na Kidaho bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso bya FPR-Inkotanyi yari yatangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu mu Ukwakira 1990.

Mu gukora ubu bushakashatsi, hifashishijwe inyandiko zitandukanye zavuye ahahoze hakorera inzego z'ubuyobozi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Habajijwe kandi abatangabuhamya batandukanye babaye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri mbere no mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi bigaragaza ko mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Abatutsi bagiye batotezwa, bicwa, bavutswa uburenganzira bwabo ku buryo bukabije guhera muri 1959 harimo kubatwikira, kubica, kubamenesha no kubacira mu Bugesera n'ibindi. Kuva ubwo, ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri bukaba bwararanzwe no gukwirakwiza inyigisho zishishikariza Abahutu kwanga Abatutsi, kubakorera ibikorwa by'urugomo, guha abasivili imyitozo no kubaha imbunda hagamijwe kubashora mu bwicanyi, ku buryo mu 1994 imyiteguro yose yari yaramaze kunozwa hasigaye gusa gutanga amabwiriza y'itangizwa rya Jenoside.

Ubu bushakashatsi bugaragaza ibimenyetso byinshi bitari byarashyizwe ahagaragara bigaragaza uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

CNLG ikaba ishimira abatangabuhamya baduhaye amakuru n' Inzego za Leta zafashije mu kubona inyandiko (Archives) zifashishijwe muri ubu bushakashatsi. Ubu bushakashatsi bwakozwe n'abashakashatsi ba Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo

Kurwanya Jenoside (CNLG) Bwana NIKUZE Donatien na Bwana MAFEZA Faustin buyobowe n'Umuyobozi Mukuru w'Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi n'Ububikoshakiro kuri Jenoside Dr. Jean-Damascène Gasanabo.

Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa wa CNLG, Dr BIZIMANA Jean Damascène, yatanze inama n'umurongo ngenderwaho mu mikorere y'ubushakashatsi kandi afasha mu kubukosora no kubunoza.

Dr BIZIMANA Jean Damascène
Umunyamabanga Nshingwabikorwa

AMAGAMBO AHINNYE YAKORESHEJWE

AMASASU : Alliance des Militaires Agacés par les Séculaires Actes Sournois des Unaristes

APROSOMA : Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse

BEM : Brevet d'Etat-Major

CDR : Coalition pour la Défense de la République

CERAI : Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré

CNLG : Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre le Génocide

CRAP : Commandos d'Action et de Recherche en Profondeur

CRP : Cercles des Républicains Progressistes

DRC : Democratic Republic of the Congo

EGENA : Ecole de Gendarmerie Nationale

ESM : Ecole Supérieure Militaire

FAR : Forces Armées Rwandaises

FIDH : Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme

GN : Gendarmerie Nationale

ICTR : International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

IPJ : Inspecteur de Police Judiciaire

ISAE	: Institut Supérieur d'Agriculture et d'Elèvage
MDR	: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
MINADEF	: Ministère de la Défense
MINIJUST	: Ministère de la Justice
MININTER	: Ministère de l'Intérieur
MRND	: Mouvement Révolutionaire National pour le Développement
ONATOU	: Office National du Tourisme
ONATRACOM	: Office National des Transports en Commun
OPS	: Opérations
PARMEHUTU	: Parti du Mouvement pour l'Emancipation de la Masse Hutu
QG	: Quartier Général
RPF	: Rwanda Patriotic Front
RTLM	: Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SOPYRWA	: Société de Pyrèthre au Rwanda
TPIR	: Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda
UNR	: Université Nationale du Rwanda

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INTANGIRIRO

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yatwaye ubuzima bw'inzirakarengane zirenga Miliyoni imwe y'Abatutsi, ikaba yarateguwe inashyirwa mu bikorwa n'ubutegetsi bubi bwariho. Itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 byagizwemo uruhare n'inzego z'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa Leta haba iza gisirikare n'iza gisivili.

Nyuma ya Jenoside, hakozwe ubushakashatsi butandukanye harimo no kwandika amateka yayo mu duce dutandukanye tw'Igihugu. Aha twavuga nk'ubushakashatsi bwakozwe buvuga ku mateka ya Jenoside muri Nyarubuye, Mugina, Murambi, Kibuye no mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza kugaragaza ukuri kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, ubu bushakashatsi bugamije kwerekana mu buryo bucukumbuye amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yari yiganjemo abarwanashyaka ba MRND, ikaba yarakomokagamo abategetsi batandukanye bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare bagize uruhare runini mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside. Aha, twavuga nka Minisitiri Joseph Nzirorera[1] wakomokaga muri Komini Mukingo, Minisitiri Casimir Bizimungu[2] ukomoka muri Komini Nyamugari, Jérôme-Clément Bicamumpaka[3] ukomoka muri Komini ya Ruhondo, Ferdinand Nahimana, umwe mu bashyizeho radiyo RTLM n'ababaye abayobozi b'iyi Perefegitura nka Protais Zigiranyirazo na Charles Nzabagerageza. Aba bose hamwe n'abandi tutarondoye amazina yabo bagize uruhare mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

1 Joseph Nzirorera yabaye Minisitiri n'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa MRND

2 Casimir Bizimungu yabaye Minisitiri w'ubuzima muri Guverinoma y'iyise iy'abatabazi

3 Jerome Bicamumpaka yabaye Minisitiri.

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, raporo zitandukanye zigaragaza ko Abatutsi bakorewe ibikorwa by'urugomo no kwicwa mu bihe bitandukanye hagati ya 1990 na 1993. Aha twavuga nk'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi (Abagogwe) muri Komini Mukingo, Kinigi, Nkuli n'ahandi[4],[5].

Intego nkuru y'ubushakashatsi

- Kwandika amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Intego zihariye z'ubushakashatsi

1. Kwerekana no gusobanura imibanire y'abaturage bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri mbere ya 1959;

2. Kugaragaza ibikorwa by'ivangura, urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri;

3. Kugaragaza imibereho y'Abatutsi kuva Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal akoze *coup- d'Eta*t mu 1973 kugeza mu Kwakira 1990;

4. Kugaragaza no kwerekana ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993;

5. Kwerekana uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri;

6. Kwerekana uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri;

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4 Rapport de la Commission International d'enquête sur les violations de droits de l'homme au Rwanda, 1993;

5 Rapport de la Commission Politico-Administratives sur les troubles dans les préfectures de Gisenyi, Ruhengeri et Kibuye, 1993.

7. Kugaragaza ingaruka za Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

8. Kwerekana uko imibanire y'abaturage imeze nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

UBURYO BWAKORESHEJWE

Ubushakashatsi ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri bwakorewe mu Turere tune aritwo: Musanze, Nyabihu, Gakenke na Burera. Uturere twavuzwe haruguru nitwo twasimbuye Amakomini 16 yari agize Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, ariyo: Kigombe, Kidaho, Kinigi, Mukingo, Nkuli, Nkumba, Nyakinama, Nyamutera, Ruhondo, Gatonde, Cyabingo, Ndusu, Nyarutovu, Cyeru, Butaro na Nyamugali.

Kugira ngo tubone amakuru ajyanye n'intego z'ubushakashatsi, twagiranye ibiganiro byimbitse (*In-deph Interview*) n'abatangabuhamya 108 batuye mu zahoze ari Komini zabarizwaga mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

Bimwe mu byashingiweho (*critères*) mu gutoranya abatangabuhamya n'ibi bikurikira:

- Kuba umutangabuhamya afite nibura imyaka 40 y'amavuko, ni ukuvuga ko muri 1990 nibura yari afite imyaka 18 y'amavuko ku buryo ibyo yatangamo ubuhamya byahabwa agaciro ;

- Kuba umutangabuhamya nibura hagati ya 1990 na 1994 yari atuye muri iyo Komini.

Umutangabuhamya twagiranye ibiganiro ni umwe mu byiciro bikurikira : Uwarokotse Jenoside, uwagize uruhare muri Jenoside wemeye akirega ibyaha, uwarokoye uwacitse ku icumu, utarahigwaga, bamwe mu bari abayobozi mu nzego za Leta, abahoze ari abasirikare ba FAR, abajandarume, abapolisi ba Komini n'abihaye Imana.

Twifashishije na none inyandiko zitandukanye zifite aho zihuriye na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perfegitura ya Ruhengeri, harimo n'inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca.

UBUMENYI RUSANGE KU ITEGURWA RYA JENOSIDE

Mu bihugu bitandukanye byabayemo Jenoside, Leta z'ibyo bihugu nizo zagize uruhare mu itegurwa ryayo. Umushakashatsi Zakarie Lingane avuga ko nta na hamwe higeze haba Jenoside Leta itabigizemo uruhare:

Jenoside zitegurwa kandi zigashyirwa mu bikorwa mu bihe bigaragaramo guhungabana gukomeye kw'ubukungu, Politiki n'indangagaciro ; mu gihe kandi abantu batakiyoboka iyobokamana, batagishobora gutandukanya icyiza n'ikibi. Mu yandi magambo, ingengabitekerezo igaragara ku bayobozi no mu binyamakuru mu gihe cya jenoside niyo ituma abantu biyambura indangagaciro nziza zari zisanzwe zibaranga maze bakiroha mu bwicanyi. Bivuze ko abayishyira mu bikorwa basa nk'aho babibahereye umugisha kandi ko bahawe ubudahangarwa ku byaha byose bakora ngo barengera Leta[6].

Umushakashatsi wanditse kuri Jenoside, Jacques Sémelin, uvugwa mu gitabo cya Lingane avuga ko umugambi w'abategura Jenoside atari ukugira ngo bigarurure ahantu runaka cyangwa birukane abantu runaka batuye aho hantu, ko ahubwo ari ukubatsemba burundu bakibagirana ku isi[7]

Ubushakashatsi butandukanye ku itegurwa rya Jenoside bwagaragaje ko abayitegura bakoresha uburyo butandukanye kugira ngo intego yabo izagerweho. Mu buryo bukoreshwa harimo inama zigamije gushishikariza kwica abagize itsinda

6 Lingane Zakaria (2008), *Mémoire et génocide au XX e Siècle*, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, Canada, p.35.
7 Lingane Zakaria (2008), *Mémoire et génocide au XX e Siècle*, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, Canada

runaka, gushishikariza urwango n'ubwicanyi ku bagize iryo tsinda hakoreshejwe ibitangazamakuru. Na none abategura Jenoside bashyiraho imitwe yitwara gisirikare akaba aribo bazifashisha mu gutsemba itsinda runaka. Ni muri urwo rwego mu Rwanda hashyizweho umutwe w'Interahamwe n'impuzamugambi za CDR n'abandi, iyo mitwe ifatanije n'abasirikare, abapolisi n'abaturage basanzwe nibo bagize uruhare mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Inama zitegura Jenoside akenshi ziba hagati y'agatsiko k'abantu bake, kandi zikabera ahantu hizewe hatagerwa n'umuntu uwari we wese, keretse abagize ako gatsiko. Mu Rwanda, abateguye Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bari bibumbiye mu dutsiko dutandukanye, utw'ingenzi twavuga ni « *Alliance des Militaires Agacés par les Séculaires Actes Sournois des Unaristes = AMASASU* », « *Escadron de la mort* » na « *Amis de l'Alliance* ».

Inyandiko yo ku wa 20 Mutarama 1993 yanditswe n'umuntu wiyise TANGO MIKE yandikiye Perezida wa Repubulika amugezaho ishyirwaho ry'agatsiko « *AMASASU* » n'impamvu y'ako gatsiko yavuze ko intego yabo ari ukuburizamo umugambi mubisha w'abayoboke ba UNAR[8] batahwemye kugirira nabi Abahutu kuva mu 1959. Umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko avuga ko indi mpamvu ari ukugira ngo babashe gukuraho burundu abanyapolitiki.......[9]

Umutangabuhamya mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), Alison Des Forges, yabwiye urukiko ko n'ubwo umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko yiyise TANGO MIKE, akeka ko uwayanditse yaba ari Bagosora cyangwa undi musirikare mukuru wakoranaga nawe bya hafi[10].

8 UNAR: Union Nationale Rwandaise

9 Umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko yashyizeho utudomo ntiyavuga abo banyepolitiki abo ari bo

10 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 549

Ibi bigashimangirwa na Filip Reyntjens, impuguke mu mateka y'u Rwanda, wavuze ko *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora ari umwe mu basirikare bakuru bashyize umukono ku nyandiko y'agatsiko kiyise « *AMASASU* ». Reyntjens avuga ko umwanditsi w'iyi nyandiko yarwanyaga amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha kuko atishimiraga kongera kubona Abatutsi mu butegetsi bw'u Rwanda[11].

Umushinjacyaha mu rukiko rwa ICTR, yavuze kandi ko guhera mu Kwakira 1990, Abahutu b'abahezanguni bari mu buyobozi bukuru mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare bashyizeho uburyo bubahuza hagamijwe gukangururira Abahutu ubwicanyi. Akomeza avuga ko *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze na *Général* Gratien Kabiligi ari bamwe mu bari bagize agatsiko « *AMASASU* » kandi ko intego y'aka gatsiko yari ugutegura Jenoside harimo no gutanga intwaro ku basivile kugira ngo Jenoside izabashe gushyirwa mu bikorwa[12].

N'ubwo umwanditsi w'inyandiko yavuzwe haruguru avuga ko « AMASASU » agizwe n'abasirikare bose n'abajandarume, ikigaragara ni uko kari agatsiko k'abayobozi bakuru bari bafite umugambi wo gutsemba Abatutsi n'undi wese udashyigikiye umugambi wabo wo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Richard Mugenzi we avuga ko agatsiko kiyise « AMASASU » kakoranaga bya hafi n'abanyapolitiki bo mu ishyaka rya MRND nka Léon Mugesera, Protais Zigiranyirazo, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, Joseph Nzirorera, umuyobozi wa CDR Jean Bosco Barayagwiza, n'abandi[13].

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11 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 550

12 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 544.

13 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUGENZI Richard, Kigali, 2016.

Akandi gatsiko kagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenoside kazwi ku izina rya « *Rézeau Zéro* ». Mu ibaruwa ifunguye (*une lettre ouverte*) yanditswe na Christophe Mfizi ku wa 15 Kanama 1992 i Paris mu bufaransa, yandikiye Perezida wa Repubulika Habyarimana Juvénal amugezaho icyemezo yafashe cyo gusezera mu ishyaka rya MRND, yavuze ko impamvu avuye mu ishyaka ari uko hari agatsiko « *Rézeau Zéro* » kagizwe n'abantu bake bo muri MRND bashaka kwikubira ibyiza byose by'Igihugu kandi bakaba bashaka gutegeka inzego zose za Leta. Yavuze ko ako gatsiko kashyinzwe na Protais Zigiranyirazo, muramu wa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal[14]. Richard Mugenzi avuga ko abari bagize ako gatsiko ari bamwe mu bategetsi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare bafite ibyo bahuriyeho, batifuzaga ko habaho kugabana ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi[15]. Mu bari bagize ako gatsiko harimo, Protais Zigiranyirazo, *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa, *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora, *Colonel* Laurent Serubuga, *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, Seraphin Rwabukumba, Dr Séraphin Bararengana (umuvandimwe wa Habyarimana Juvénal) n'abandi

Usibye « *AMASASU* » na « *Réseau Zéro* » hari akandi gatsiko kazwi ku izina rya « *Escadron de la mort* » kari kagizwe n'absirikare bakuru bayobowe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora. Filip Reyntjens, impuguke mu mateka y'u Rwanda, ubwo yatangaga ubuhamya mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), yavuze ko abari bagize agatsiko ka « *Escadron de la mort* » ari bo bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwabaye mu Bugesera muri Werurwe 1992 no ku Kibuye muri Kanama 1992. Akomeza avuga ko *Colonel* Bagosora ari we watangaga amabwiriza mu bagize ako gatsiko

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14 Mfizi Christophe (2006), Le Réseau Zéro (B), Fossoyeur de la Démocratie et de la République au Rwanda (1975-1994). Rapport de consultation redigé à la demande du Bureau du Procureur du Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda, Arusha, Tanzanie.

15 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUGENZI Richard, Kigali, 2016.

kugira ngo bateze umutekano muke mu gihugu no kubangamira imishyikirano y'amahoro y'Arusha[16].

Abandi basirikare bakuru bari bagize ako gatsiko harimo *Colonel* Elie Sagatwa, *Colone*l Pierre Célestin Rwagafirita[17], *Lieutenant Colonel* Anatole Nsengiyumva, *Major* Aloys Ntabakuze, *Capitaine* Pascal Simbikangwa[18].

Agatsiko « *escadron de la mort »* kari gafite itumanaho ryabo bwite. Ni ko katozaga abasirikare ibikorwa by'ubuhotozi n'iyicarubozo. Intego kwari ugukuraho Umututsi n'undi muntu wese ubangamiye umugambi wabo wo kuguma ku butegetsi[19].

Hari kandi agatsiko kitwaga « *Amis de l'Alliance* » kagizwe n'abayobozi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisirikare na gisivili batari bashyigikiye Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal muri gahunda yo kugabana ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi no gushyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho. Nk'uko izina ryabo rivuga, biyitaga abantu bagiranye igihango batifuza kubona Umututsi mu butegetsi bw'u Rwanda[20].

Nubwo hakozwe imyiteguro myinshi igaragaza umugambi wa Jenoside, abategura Jenoside bagerageza kutagaragaza inyandiko cyangwa ikintu cyose gishobora gushyira ahagaragara umugambi

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16 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 585

17 Yabaye umugaba w'ingabo wungirije wa Jandarumeri kuva mu 1979 kugera mu 1992

18 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 2013 ; Para. 589

19 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 2013 ; Par 592

20 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUGENZI Richard, Kigali, 2016.

wabo wo kurimbura itsinda runaka. Ni muri urwo rwego abagize uruhare mu itegurwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi bageragezaga gusibanganya ibimenyetso byose n'ubwo ibimenyetso bimwe byabonetse bigaragaza uko bateguye Jenoside.

ISHUSHO RUSANGE KU ITEGURWA RYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI HAGATI YA 1990 - 1994

Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ryabaye nyuma y'igihe kirekire cyítegurwa ryayo. Ubutegetsi bwa perezida Habyarimana Juvénal bwakoresheje uburyo butandukanye mu gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Umuryango ushinzwe uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu (*Human Rights Watch*) ubivuga mu magambo akurikira:

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ntabwo yatewe n'uburakare bukabije igice cy'abaturage cyagiriye ikindi gice, ahubwo yabaye inkurikizi y'inyigisho z'urwango zabibwe na bamwe mu bayobozi bashakaga kugumana ubutegetsi. Ibihumbi by'abantu bashyize mu bikorwa Jenoside ntibababikoze kubera ko bari batewe na shitani, ahubwo babikoze kubera ko bari buzuye urwango kandi banabitezemo inyungu[21].

Gushishikariza urwango n'ubwicanyi byanyujijwe mu nama zitandukanye z'abayobozi bo mu nzego za Leta no mu bitangazamakuru nka Kangura, Radiyo Rwanda, RTLM n'íbindi. Ibi bitangazamakuru byakwirakwije urwango binakangurira Abahutu kwica Abatutsi. Urugero, ikinyamakuru Kangura cyasohoye inyandiko yitwa « *Appel à la conscience des Bahutu »*, igaragaramo amategeko icumi y'Abahutu. Ayo mategeko icumi avugwa muri iyi nyandiko ahamagarira Abahutu kwanga Abatutsi mu buryo bwose, harimo kwirinda umubano bagirana nabo cyangwa kugirana amasezerano ayo ariyo yose[22].

21 Human Rights Watch World Report, New York, USA: Human Rights Watch, ©1998, p.6.

22 Kangura, nº 6, Décembre 1990

Muri rusange, inyandiko z'iki kinyamakuru zari zuzuyemo urwango n'ubwoba kuko cyakanguriraga Abahutu gufata iya mbere bakica Abatutsi bitabaye bityo ko aribo bazicwa.

Gukangurira Abahutu urwango no gufata iya mbere bakica Abatutsi byanyujijwe kenshi kuri *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM)*, yamenyekanye ku izina rya Radiyo rutwitsi. RTLM yatambutsaga ibiganiro byinshi byo kwerekana ko umwanzi Igihugu gifite ari Umututsi, kandi ko afite umugambi wo kurimbura Abahutu bose, bityo bagahamagarirwa gufata iya mbere bakamurwanya.

Mu gufasha Abahutu kugira imyumvire imwe ku ijambo "umwanzi", hashyizweho akanama kari gakuriwe na *Colonel* Théoneste Bagosora bisabwe n'umukuru w'Igihugu Juvénal Habyarimana mu nama yagiranye n'abasirikare bakuru ku wa 4 Ukuboza 1991 ku ishuri rya gisirikare "*Ecole Supérieure Militaire" (ESM)*. Iyo nama yari igamije gusobanura umwanzi uwo ari we no gushyiraho ingamba zo kumutsinda. Igisobanuro cy'ijambo *umwanzi* cyatanzwe mu nyandiko y'umuyobozi mukuru wa gisirikare, Déogratias Nsabimana ku itariki ya 21 Nzeri 1992. Nk'uko iyo nyandiko ibigaragaza, umwanzi agizwe n'ibice bibiri; umwanzi nyir'izina (*ennemi principal*) n'abafana b'umwanzi.

Umwanzi nyir'izina ni Umututsi w'imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo ufite inyota y'ubutegetsi, utarigeze yemera impinduramatwara yo mu 1959, ushakisha kugaruka ku butegetsi akoresheje uburyo bwose harimo n'intwaro. Umufana w'umwanzi *(partisan de l'ennemi*) ni umuntu wese ufasha umwanzi mu buryo ubwo aribwo bwose[23]. Bitewe n'uko abaturage bose bari bamaze gusobanukirwa n'ijambo umwanzi, igihe cyose bahabwaga ubutumwa bwo kurwanya umwanzi, bumvaga neza ikivuzwe, bakirara mu Batutsi aho bari hose.

23 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Théoneste Bagosora, Gratien Kabiligi, Aloys Ntabakuze na Anatole Nsengiyumva, Case no ICTR-98-41-T, par. 202.

Mu rwego rwo gutegura ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Ubutegetsi bwa perezida Habyarimana Juvénal bwashyizeho imitwe yitwara gisirikare harimo umutwe w'Interahamwe, bishimangirwa no kuyiha imyitozo no gutoza abaturage basanzwe ibya gisirikare, no kubaha intwaro.

Interahamwe wari umutwe witwaraga gisirikare watoranijwe mu bayoboke b'ishyaka rya MRND ukaba warashyizweho mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1991. Uhereye kuri Serire kugera ku rwego rw'Igihugu habaga hariho komite nyobozi y'Interahamwe. Buri muyobozi yafashaga gutoranya abazajya mu nterahamwe kandi bagashyiraho n'ubuyobozi bwazo.

Interahamwe zabaga ziganjemo urubyiruko. Ababaga batoranijwe, bahabwaga imyitozo ya gisirikare, nko gukoresha imbunda n'izindi ntwaro, bakigishwa uburyo bwo kwica abantu benshi mu gihe gito[24].

Igitekerezo cyo guha abaturage imyitozo ya gisirikare no kubaha imbunda cyazanywe bwa mbere na Etienne Sengegera wari Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda muri Zayire ahagana mu wa 1989[25]. Muri raporo yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Rwanda, yamumenyesheje ko hari abashaka gutera u Rwanda baturutse hanze yarwo, atanga icyifuzo cy'uko abaturage batozwa bityo bagahabwa imbunda kugira ngo bafashe ingabo z'Igihugu mu kwirindira umutekano. Nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu mu 1990, icyifuzo cyo guha abasivile imyitozo ya gisirikare cyongeye kugaragazwa n'uwari Ministiri w'Ingabo *Lieutenant Colonel* Augustin Ndindiriyimana muri Nyakanga 1991. Minisitiri w'Ingabo yagiriye inama Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana ko mu makomini yose habaho gutoza abasivile bakigishwa imbunda.

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24 Melven Linda (2004), *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*, London, p.26

25 Etienne Sengegera yakomokaga muri Perefegitura ya Gikongoro. Yabaye ambasaderi asimbuye Nyilinkindi Antoine wakomokaga muri Perefegitura ya Cyangugu.

Umugambi wo gutanga imbunda mu baturage watangiye witwa « *Défense Civile* ». Mu nama yari yahuje ba Perefe bose muri Nzeri 1991, *Lieutenant Colonel* Ndindiriyimana yamenyesheje ba Perefe uko umutekano wifashe mu Majyaruguru y'Igihugu mu makomini ahanye imbibi n'Igihugu cya Uganda. Yavuze ko abapolisi ba Komini (*Police Communale*) bakeneye ababafasha cyane cyane abavuye mu gisirikare (*réservistes*) kugira ngo umutekano ugaruke[26]. Ni muri urwo rwego ba Perefe basabwe gushyiraho akanama kagomba kwiga uburyo gutoza abasivile no kubaha imbunda byakorwa. Raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yakozwe hagati ya tariki 7-21 Mutarama 1993 ku ihutazwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda uhereye tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ivuga ko Interahamwe zakwirakwijwe mu gihugu hose kuva muri Gashyantare 1992.

Umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi wahawe imbaraga nyinshi ubwo Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yemeraga ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi mu itegeko nshinga ryo ku wa 10 Kamena 1991, n'isinywa ry'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yo ku wa 30 Ukwakira 1992 ajyanye n'igabana ry'ubutegetsi na RPF-Inkotanyi muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho (*Gouvernement de Transition à Base Elargie)*[27].

Isinywa ry'amasezerano yo kugabana ubutegetsi ryatumye udutsiko tugizwe n'abayobozi bakuru b'Abahutu b'intagondwa (*extrémistes*) mu nzego zinyuranye dutangira kubangamira ayo masezerano harimo kwica Abatutsi n'undi wese washaka kubangamira umugambi wabo wo kugumana ubutegetsi. Nk'uko twabivuze mu gice kibanziriza iki, abari bibumbiye mu dutsiko tuzwi ku izina rya « AMASASU », « *Rézeau Zéro » na « Amis de l'Alliance »* nibo bafashe iyambere.

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26 Melven Linda (2004), *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*, London, p.26

27 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUGENZI Richard, Kigali, 2016.

Mbere y'uko Jenoside ishyirwa mu bikorwa, ubutegetsi bwa perezida Habyarimana bwari bwarakoze urutonde rw'Abagombaga kwicwa. Hirya no hino mu gihugu, abategetsi bo mu nzego z'ibanze bari barakoze urutonde rw'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa.

Mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, bariyeri zashyizwe ahantu henshi kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi ubasha guhunga. Hakoreshejwe na none amayeri yo kwegeranya Abatutsi, bakabashyira ahantu runaka bababwira ko ari uburyo bwo kubarindira umutekano, nyamara kwari ukugira ngo babicire hamwe bitabagoye.

Mu gihe cya Jenoside ndetse na nyuma yaho, abagize uruhare haba mu itegurwa no mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo, bakoresheje uburyo bwose bwo kuyihakana. Ni muri urwo rwego, hirya no hino mu ma Segiteri atandukanye ba Konseye batanze amabwiriza yo gusibanganya ibimenyetso byose byagaragaza ko muri Segiteri bayobora higeze haturwa n'Abatutsi. Urugero ni nk'ibaruwa yo ku wa 13 Kamena 1994 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba, Karasira Léonard, aho yatanze amabwiriza yanditse, asaba Abakonseye kuyashyira mu bikorwa. Zimwe mu ngingo zigaragara muri ayo mabwiriza ni ugusenya burundu amazu y'Abatutsi bishwe, hagahingwamo imyaka nk'insina, inzuzi z'ibihaza, amateke n'ibindi. Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ramba yasabye Abakonseye kubwira abaturage bayobora ko bagomba kugira imvugo imwe, ko muri Segiteri yabo nta Mututsi wigeze yicwa ahubwo ko bahunze, abenshi bakaba barahungiye muri Zayire (DRC).

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ababigizemo uruhare bakomeje kuyihakana no kuyipfobya, bavuga ko nta Jenoside yigeze itegurwa, ko yatewe n'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, abandi bakavuga ko habaye ubwicanyi ko atari Jenoside, ko habaye Jenoside ebyiri, imwe y'Abahutu indi y'Abatutsi, n'ibindi. Aba bose baba bagamije kuyobya uburari no kugoreka amateka, akenshi bagamije gukingira ikibaba abateguye bakanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

IGICE CYA MBERE: IMIBEREHO Y'ABATUTSI MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA RUHENGERI

I.1. Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Mbere y'uko Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ijyaho, ifasi ihererereyemo yabarizwaga muri Teritwari ya Ruhengeri ikaba yari ihanye imbibi n'ibihugu bya Congo na Uganda. Teritwari ya Ruhengeri yari igizwe na sheferi ya Mulera, Bukamba-Ndorwa, Kibali-Buberuka, Bugarura-Kivuruga, Bukonya na Buhoma-Rwankeri[28].

Sheferi ya Mulera yayoborwaga na shefu Bisamaza Quentin (1938-1958) ; sheferi ya Bukonya ikayoborwa na Bisalinkumi Canisius (1936-1955) ; sheferi ya Kibali-Buberuka yayoborwaga na Kalima Epaphrodite (1938-15 Juillet 1957) ; sheferi ya Bugarura-Kivuruga yari Rwabukamba Jean Berchmans (1931-1955) naho sheferi ya Buhoma-Rwankeri yayoborwaga na shefu Rwabulindi Jean Nepomuscène[29].

Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ni imwe muri Perefegitura 10 zashyizweho n'itegeko n° 02/72 ryo kuwa 7 Werurwe 1961 zasimbuye izahoze ari Teritwari zariho mu gihe cy'ubukoloni bw'Ababirigi. Ni muri urwo rwego Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yasimbuye icyitwaga Teritwari ya Ruhengeri. Ba *administrateur* ba Teritwari bakomeje kuyobora kugeza tariki ya 1 Kamena 1961, ubwo hashyirwagaho ababasimbura bitwa ba Perefe.

Perefe wa mbere wayoboye Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ni Lazare Mpakaniye wasimbuwe na Pacôme Nkiko ku ya 20 Ugushyingo 1961 nyuma yo kugirwa Ministre w'Umutekano muri guverinoma yagiyeho nyuma ya Kamarampaka yo kuwa 25 Nzeri 1961.

28 Florent Piton (2010-2011), *Un monde politique en recomposition. Monographie Politique du Territoire de Ruhengeri au Rwanda (1944-1959)*, p.33

29 Florent Piton (2010-2011), *Un monde politique en recomposition. Monographie Politique du Territoire de Ruhengeri au Rwanda (1944-1959)*, p.333

Mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere yayobowe na Grégoire Kayibanda kuva 1961-1973, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yayobowe na ba Perefe bakurikira:

- Pacome Nkiko: Yayoboye kuva 20 Ugushyingo 1961 kugeza kuwa 22 Mutarama 1966;

- Jacques Ndisebuye: kuva kuwa 31 Mutarama 1966 kugeza muri Nyakanga 1967;

- Donat Ngendahimana: kuva kuwa 14 Kanama kugeza kuwa 1 Mutarama 1969;

- Ignace Karuhije: Kuva tariki ya 1 Mutarama 1969 kugeza kuya 11 Ukuboza 1972.

Mu 1973, ubwo Jenerali Major Habyarimana Juvénal yakoraga *Coup d'Etat* kuwa 5 Nyakanga 1973 afatanije na bagenzi be *les camarades du 5 Juillet*, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri nta muyobozi yari ifite. Yayoborwaga na Perefe w'Umusimbura Alphonse Kanyamugara wari usanzwe ari Superefe kuva tariki ya 1 Mutarama 1969.

Ku itariki ya 13 Nyakanga 1973, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yahawe perefe mushya witwa Kabanda Célestin nawe wahamaze igihe gito, kuko yaje kugirwa Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Gikongoro kuwa 24 Ukuboza 1974. Yasimbuwe na Protais Zigiranyirazo, wayoboye Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuva kuwa 24 Ukuboza 1974 kugera mu 1989[30]. Zigiranyirazo yasimbuwe na Dr. Charles Nzabagerageza wayoboye iyi Perefegitura kugera mu 1993 asimburwa na Bariyanga Sylivestre wishwe ubwo Jenoside yari itangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa ku itariki 7 Mata 1994. Bariyanga yasimbuwe na Nsabumugisha Basile wayoboye Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri igihe Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa.

30 Protais Zigiranyirazo yavukiye mu Bushiru mu 1938, akaba ari musaza wa Kanziga Agathe, umugore wa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal.

Kugera mu 1994, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yari ifite Superefegitura ebyiri: Superefegitura ya Busengo yari ifite icyicaro muri Komini Gatonde na Superefegitura ya Kirambo yari ifite icyicaro muri Komini Cyeru. Muri rusange Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yari igizwe na Komini 16 na Segiteri 177[31]. Superefegitura ya Busengo yari igizwe na Komini eshanu (5): Komini Ndusu, Gatonde, Cyabingo na Komini Nyarutovu. Superefegitura ya Kirambo yo yari igizwe na Komini eshatu (3): Komini Nyamugali, Cyeru na Komini Butaro. Komini zisigaye nta Superefegitura zagiraga kuko zari zegereye icyicaro cya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

Buri Komini yari igizwe na Segiteri zikurikira:

- Komini Nkuli yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi (10): Segiteri Gatovu, Gitwa, Jenda, Kareba, Kintobo, Mukamira, Musumba, Rukoma, Runigi na Segiteri Ryinyo.
- Komini Mukingo yari igizwe na Segiteri umunani (8): Segiteri Busogo, Gatagara, Gikoro, Kimonyi, Muhingo, Nyabirehe, Rwinzovu na Segiteri Shingiro.
- Komini Kigombe yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi (10): Segiteri Cyuve, Gacaca, Gahondogo, Gasanze, Gashangiro, Kabaya, Mubona, Muhoza, Musanze na Segiteri Rubange.
- Komini Nyakinama yari igizwe na Segiteri cumi n'eshatu (13): Segiteri Gisoro, Kabere I, Kabere II, Kabere III, Kanza, Kitabura, Muguli, Muko, Nkotsi, Rubona, Rugalika, Rusanze na Segiteri Rutoyi.
- Komini Kinigi yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi n'ebyiri (12): Segiteri Bisate, Gasiza, Gihora, Kabwende, Kagano, Kanyamiheto, Musanze, Nyabisinde, Nyange, Nyarugina, Rwankuba na Segiteri Tero.

31 Florent Piton (2010), *De la "Révolution morale" au régime de parti unique: La construction d'un dispositif politico-administratif autoritaire au Rwanda (1973-1981)*. Mémoire de Master en « Sciences Humaines et Sociales », Paris I, CEMAF

- Komini Nkumba yari igizwe na Segiteri cumi n'ebyiri (12): Segiteri Gahunga, Gatete, Gihera, Gitinda, Kabaya, Kinoni, Maya, Musanzu, Mwiko, Nyanga, Ruhondo na Segiteri Rutamba.
- Komini Kidaho yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi (10): Segiteri Burambi, Burera, Butenga, Butete, Cyanika, Gitaraga, Gitare, Kagogo, Kidaho na Segiteri Rugarama
- Komini Butaro yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi (10): Segiteri Buhita, Bukaragata, Burandi, Kayange, Kindoyi, Kinyababa, Musama, Rugendabare, Ruliba na Segiteri Rutovu.
- Komini Ruhondo yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi (10): Segiteri Gashake, Kirarama, Kiruri, Mukono, Ntarama, Remera, Ruhinga, Rusayo, Rwaza na Segiteri Ryandinzi.
- Komini Nyamugari yari igizwe na Segiteri icumi n'ebyiri (12): Segiteri Gaseke, Gicuba, Kabingo, Kidomo, Kivumu, Mushongi, Muvumo, Mushubi, Nemba, Rubona, Rushara na Segiteri Rukore.
- Komini Cyeru yari igizwe na Segiteri cumi n'eshanu (15): Segiteri Butare, Gacundura, Kabona, Kalingorera, Kamubuga, Kiboga, Kinihira, Mugamba, Ndago, Rugendabare, Ruhanga, Ruhombo, Rusarabuge, Ruyange na Segiteri Rwerere.
- Komini Nyarutovu yari igizwe na Segiteri cumi n'ebyiri (12): Segiteri Bwisha, Gakenke, Gashenyi, Gihinga, Gitovu, Kajwi, Karambo, Kiriba, Kinyoma, Ruhangari, Ruhinga I, na Segiteri Ruhinga II.
- Komini Ndusu yari igizwe na Segiteri cumi n'imwe (11): Segiteri Buhunga, Janja, Kabingo, Kiriba, Kiringa, Mataba, Mugunga, Muzo, Mwumba, Rusoro na Segiteri Tandagura.

- Komini Gatonde yari igizwe na Segiteri icyenda (9): Segiteri Busengo, Cyibumba, Gahanga, Gakenke, Kivune, Mugandu, Munanira, Nyakagezi na Segiteri Rusasa.
- Komini Cyabingo yari igizwe na Segiteri cumi n'eshanu (15): Segiteri Bushoka, Bugaragara, Cyabingo, Gitwa, Kavumu, Kiganda, Muhaza, Muhororo, Muramba, Ngege, Nyundo, Rugimbu, Rukore, Rurembo na Segiteri Rutare.
- Komini Nyamutera yari igizwe na Segiteri umunani (8): Segiteri Cyanika, Kageri, Marangara, Mukirangwe, Murama, Nyarutembe, Rugera na Segiteri Tubungo.

Amazina y'aba Perefe n'aya ba Burugumesitiri bari abayobozi ba Komini zigize iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994.

- Nsabumugisha Basile: Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri
- Ntarwanda Célestin: Superefe ushinzwe ibya Politiki;
- Twagiramungu Isaac: Superefe ushinzwe iby'imibereho myiza y'Abaturage, uburezi n'umuco;
- Ntagandamwabo Félicien: Superefe ushinzwe iby'ubukungu na Tekiniki;
- Nzanana Dismas: Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo;
- Sinaruhamagaye Jean Bosco: Superefe wa Suprefegitura ya Kirambo;
- Sinamenye Gervais: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Butaro
- Nkiranuye Jean Damascène: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Cyabingo

- Ukizemwabo Alphonse: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Cyeru
- Nizeyimana Jean Bosco: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde
- Ntahompagaze Jean Bosco: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kidaho
- Maniragaba Fabien: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe
- Komini Kinigi: umwanya wa Burugumesitiri wari ubereyaho
- Harerimana Emmanuel: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, yasimbuwe na Kajelijeli Juvénal, kuwa 26 Kamena 1994.
- Bigirimana Jean Sauveur: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ndusu
- Gatsimbanyi Dominique: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli
- Matemane Faustin: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba
- Hategekimana François: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama
- Mugemanyi Frodourd: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamugari
- Mwitabangoma Augustin: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamutera
- Twagirayezu Pierre: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyarutovu
- Nsabimana Jean Baptiste: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ruhondo

1.2. Intandaro y'ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi mu 1959 mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Mbere ya 1959, imibanire y'abaturage mu yahoze ari Teritwari ya Ruhengeri yari myiza. Nta bibazo bishingiye ku moko byigeze bigaragara hagati y'Abanyarwanda bari batuye muri iyo Teritwari.

Ibibazo biganisha mu gucamo ibice Abanyarwanda byatangiye kugaragara muri 1957 nyuma y'aho itsinda ry'Abanyarwanda ririmo Kayibanda Grégoire na bagenzi be basohoye inyandiko yiswe "*Manifeste des Bahutu"* yagaragazaga icyo bise akarengane Abahutu bakorerwa n'Abatutsi. Kugira ngo ibyari bikubiye muri "*Manifeste des Bahutu"* bishyirwe ahagaragara, abateguye iyo nyandiko babifashijwemo n'abakoloni n'abamisiyoneri, Vice-Gouverneur wa Ruanda-Urundi, Jean Paul Harroy na Musenyeri Perraudin. Nyuma y'aho Harroy ageze mu Rwanda mu 1955 ndetse na Musenyeri Perraudin mu 1956, habaye impinduka zitari nziza mu bijyanye n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda muri rusange no mu cyerekezo Igihugu cyari gifite[32].

Guhanganisha Abanyarwanda ni bumwe mu buryo abakoloni b'Ababirigi bakoresheje nyuma yo kubona ko gahunda umwami Rudahigwa yari afite yo kugira ngo u Rwanda rwigenge itandukanye n'inyungu zabo.

Mu nzira yo guharanira ko u Rwanda rwaba Igihugu cyigenga, umwami Rudahigwa yavanyeho zimwe mu nzitizi zabangamiraga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Ni muri urwo rwego tariki ya 1 Werurwe 1954, umwami Rudahigwa yashyizeho itegeko rikuraho ubuhake ategeka ko abakoraga imirimo bose bajya bayihemberwa. Hashingiwe kuri iryo teka abagaragu bagabanye

32 Gasanabo Jean- Damascène (2004), *Mémoire et Histoire Scolaire : Le cas du Rwanda de 1962 à 1994*, Thèse de Doctorat : Université de Genève, p.56

na ba shebuja bahabwa bibiri bya gatatu (2/3) mu gihe bashebuja basigaranaga kimwe cya gatatu (1/3) cy'inka bari bafite. N'ubwo haje kugaragara ikibazo cyo kubona urwuri ku bagaragu bari bamaze kugabana, itegeko umwami yashyizeho ryatumye abari abagaragu na ba rubanda rugufi bumva ko bagize agaciro kandi ko ntawuzongera gukorera ubusa.

Ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi mu 1959 byabanjirijwe n'ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka ya Politiki yaranzwe no gushyamirana hagati y'abayoboke b'ayo mashyaka. Hagiye habaho gushyamirana hagati y'abayoboke ba UNAR n'andi mashyaka nka APROSOMA na PARMEHUTU kuko barwanyaga umwami, bityo UNAR ikababafata nk'umwanzi w' Igihugu.

Ikindi na none cyateje umwiryane, ni uko kuva mu 1957 hari inyandiko (*tracts*) zitandukanye zigaragaza ko hari ikibazo hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi zakwirakwizwaga n'barwanashyaka ba APROSOMA na *Mouvement Social* Hutu, ariyo yaje kuba PARMEHUTU. Bamwe bo muri ayo mashyaka bagendaga babiba amacakubiri n'urwango bishingiye ku moko, hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi[33].

Kugira ngo umugambi wo kumenesha Abatutsi ugerweho, abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bashingiye ku makuru yakwirakwijwe mu gihugu hose ko Mbonyumutwa Dominique wari sushefu ku Ndiza yakubiswe n'abasore b'Abatutsi.

Ikubitwa rya Dominique Mbonyumutwa wari sushefu ku Ndiza ryabaye mu gihe hari umwuka utari mwiza, hari uguhangana no gushyamirana hagati y'abarwanshyaka ba UNAR n'andi mashyaka cyane cyane APROSOMA ya Gitera Joseph na PARMEHUTU ya Kayibanda Grégoire.[34]

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33 Mugesera Antoine (2004), *Imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya Kabiri*, Les Editions Rwandaise. Kigali, p.31

34 Mugesera Antoine (2004), *Imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya Kabiri*, Les Editions Rwandaise. Kigali, p.31

Inkuru y'uko yakubiswe yakwirakwijwe mu gihugu hose, maze abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU na APROSOMA bahamagarira abaturage b'Abahutu kwica, gutwikira no kumenesha Abatutsi, bikwira hafi mu duce twose tw'Igihugu.

Gutwikira Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Teritwari ya Ruhengeri byatangiye ku itariki ya 6 Ugushyingo 1959, bigeza ku itariki ya 12 Ugushyingo 1959. Ibikorwa by'urugomo byakorwaga n'abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bazaga baturutse cyane cyane mu gace ka Gitarama.

Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bagabye igitero muri sheferi ya Buberuka kwa shefu Bisamaza, no mu Bukonya-Bugarura kwa shefu Rwabukamba. Ku itariki ya 7 Ugushyingo 1959 bagabye ibitero batwikira shefu Kamali wa Mulera. Inkongi yarakomeje igera mu Kibali (ubu ni mu Karere ka Gakenke). Utundi duce tugizwe na sheferi ya Bugarura, Ndorwa na Rwankeli natwo twagabweho ibitero hagati y'itariki 6 n'iya 7 Ugushingo 1959 hicwa Abatutsi bagera kuri 20[35]

Bideri Diogène avuga ko abayobozi ba PARMEHUTU aribo bashishikarizaga abaturage basanzwe b'Abahutu gutwikira Abatutsi no gutema insina zabo[36].

Kugira ngo abaturage b'Abahutu bitabire ibikorwa by'urugomo, inkuru zitari ukuri zakwirakwijwe muri sheferi ya Bukamba zivuga ko sushefu Bicamumpaka w'Umuhutu yishwe n'Abatutsi. Iyo nkuru y'ikinyoma yabaye intandaro yo gutwikira Abatutsi. Icyari kigamijwe kwari ukumenesha Abatutsi bagahungira hanze y'Igihugu, bityo Abahutu bakabona uko bategeka[37].

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35 Mugesera Antoine (2004), *Imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya Kabiri*, Les Editions Rwandaise, Kigali, p.31

36 Bideri Diogène (2009), *Le massacre de Bagogwe.Un prélude au génocide des Tutsi. Rwanda (1990-1993)*, L'Harmattan, p.35

37 Bideri Diogène (2009), *Le massacre de Bagogwe.Un prélude au génocide des Tutsi. Rwanda (1990-1993)*, L'Harmattan.

Muri ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo byibasiraga Abatutsi, abakoloni b'Ababirigi babaga bari inyuma yabyo. *Administrateur* wa Teritwari ya Ruhengeri, Joseph De Man yarebereye ibikorwa by'urugomo byakorerwaga Abatutsi, ntiyagira icyo akora ngo abuze abicanyi gukomeza kubatwikira. Gutwikira Abatutsi muri 1959 byaherekezwaga n'indirimbo aba PARMEHUTU baririmbaga ivuga ngo *"ko Gahutu yatsinze, Abatutsi muzagana he* ?".

Abatangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi bavuga ko mu 1959 abibasiwe cyane ari Abatutsi bari abayobozi kuva ku birongozi kugeza kuba shefu. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko insoresore za PARMEHUTU zitwa indamage arizo zagendaga zitwika amazu y' Abatutsi.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba na Kidaho (muri sheferi za Burera na Ndorwa), abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU batwikaga amazu y'Abatutsi bambaye amashara, bafite amacumu, imihoro, n'ibibiriti. Bibasiraga cyane cyane amazu y'abari mu buyobozi nk'ibirongozi, ba sushefu na shefu. Mu batwikiwe harimo Mugemana, Samvura, Nyamabumba, Gakuru, Rudakubana, Kagurube, Rwomushana na Mwikarago wari sushefu[38]. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba Abatutsi batwikiye kandi Musanganya, Bihembe, Rwamuhungu n'abandi. Ababashije kurokoka bahungiye Uganda, abandi bahungira Zayire.

Ku itariki ya 7 Ugushyingo 1959 nibwo batwikiye Abatutsi bari batuye muri sheferi ya Kibari-Buberuka, Ndorwa n'Uburera; ubu ni mu Karere ka Burera. Mu batwikiwe harimo Shefu Bisamaza na Shefu Rwabukamba. Umutangabuhamya wabonye uko byagenze asobanura ko:

> Tariki ya 7 Ugushyingo 1959, Abatutsi bari batuye mu duce twa Komini Cyeru na Butaro baratwikiwe. Mu batwikiwe harimo Rwihamagenga wari sushefu, Karamaga, Muberuka, Nyabaguma, Kabirigi, Kinyoni

38 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUYE Ignace mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

> wari sushefu n'abandi. Abatwikaga babaga baturutse mu gace ka Gitarama, bambaye amashara, bagenda bavuga ngo bavune Mbonyumutwa[39].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Cyeru, Abatutsi batwikiwe harimo Sushefu Ruhunga na Rwihamagega wayoboraga iyaje kuba Komini Cyeru na Nemba[40].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu, naho Abatutsi baratwikiwe, abandi barameneshwa. Mu batwikiwe harimo Dancilla, Mulisa, Rwasibo, Gashugi, Ruzindana, Mbonabandi, Charles Nyirimbibi, Nshizirungu, Nibabyare, Kavutse, Rugari, Munyempundu, Mujyanama n'abandi.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde naho niko byagenze. Mu batwikiwe harimo Kimbirima, Gakeri, Rutayisire, Hapfakarengane, Rwabigwi, Forongo, Bwijenkoziki wari utuye mu murenge wa Rusasa, Rurinda wari utuye muri Janja, Nyamwigema wo muri Janja, Kayitani, Sebiraza, n'abandi. Mu bameneshejwe harimo Karera, Bandora, Muzungu, Kayitani, Karekezi, Michael, Bugirimfura Thérèse, Musanabere Emerthe, Nikodemu, Gashugi. Abatutsi benshi bakomoka mu yahoze ari Ruhuhengeri, cyane cyane mu duce twa Komini Nyarutovu bahungiye muri Zayire, abandi babajyana mu Bugesera.

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko muri rusange abaturage b'Abahutu nta kibazo bari bafitanye n'Abatutsi, ko ndetse aribo babarwanagaho ngo batabatwikira. Umwe mu batangabuhamya asobanura ko: "*Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU baje baturutse mu duce twa Gitarama, baza bibasiye cyane sushefu Nzamuye. Abaturage basanzwe b'Abahutu bahagaze ku nzu ye, bakumira igitero bituma batayitwik*a"[41].

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39 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUYE Ignace mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

40 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SHARAMANZI Alphonse mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

41 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Bamwe mu Bahutu bagerageje guhisha bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi, guhisha amatungo yabo no kurwanya abatwikaga amazu y'Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yasobanuye ko:

> Ubwo batangiraga kubatwikira, ndibuka papa na data wacu bagiye guhagarara ku nzu y'Umututsi twari duturanye, bigeze nimugoroba bahungisha ibintu byabo, babijyana mu Bufumbira. Batwikira Abatutsi, ndabyibuka, *Administrateur* wa Teritwari ya Ruhengeri witwa De Man yabaga arebera ibyo aba PARMEHUTU bari gukora, ndetse abashigikiye. Batwitse kwa Sushefu witwa Musuhuke, batwikira n'abandi benshi[42].

Undi mutangabuhamya asobanura uko abaturage b'Abahutu bahishaga imitungo y'Abatutsi muri aya magambo: "*Gutwikira Abatutsi byabaye mu kwezi k'Ugushingo 1959. Icyakora abaturanyi b'Abahutu bagerageje kurinda amwe mu mazu y' Abatutsi ntiyatwikwa ndetse bahisha imitungo yabo"*[43].

Bamenesha Abatutsi muri 1959, bamwe mu baturage b'Abahutu bafite umutima mwiza, barabaherekeje babageza muri Uganda. Umutangabuhamya wari utuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba avuga ko hari Abatutsi barimo Musuhuke Ladislas, Rugayampunzi n'abandi baherekeje babageza mu Bufumbira muri Uganda, ndetse na nyuma yaho bajyaga kubasura aho batuye. Ibi biragaragaza ko n'ubwo abanyapolitiki babi nka Kayibanda Grégoire, Gitera n'abandi bageragezaga kubiba urwango ku Batutsi, bamwe mu baturage bitwaye neza bakomeza kugira umubano mwiza na bagenzi babo.[44]

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42 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSABIMANA Alphonse mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

43 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Bosco mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

44 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Bosco mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Umutangabuhamya utarahigwaga avuga ko batwikira Abatutsi muri 1959, ise umubyara w' Umuhutu yabashije guhisha Abatutsi bahigwaga:

> Mbere ya 1958, data yari umugaragu w'Abatutsi kandi bari babanye neza. Ubwo babatwikiraga, bahungiye iwacu, arabahisha ndetse na bimwe mu bikoresho byo mu nzu arabibika. Nyuma baje guhungira Uganda, ariko bakajya bagaruka kudusura natwe tukajya kubasura aho bahungiye muri Uganda[45]

N'ubwo bamwe mu baturage bagerageje kurwana ku Batutsi, ntibyabujije ko amazu yabo bayatwika, abandi baricwa. Umutangabuhamya twaganiriye yatanze urugero rw'agasozi kitiriwe Abatutsi nyuma yo kurimbura abari bagatuyeho: *"Abatutsi bari batuye ku gasozi kari hagati y'ikiyaga cya Burera na Ruhondo bishwe n'Abakiga mu bihe bitandukanye (1959-1973), kugeza ubwo aho bari batuye hasigara ari amatongo. Abaturage bahahimbye izina ngo ni "kuk'Abatutsi*"[46].

Mu rwego rwo kwigarurira abayoboke benshi mu gikorwa cyo gutwikira no kwirukana Abatutsi, aba PARMEHUTU bavugaga ko Abatutsi aribo bishe umwami Rudahigwa kubera ko yari yavanyeho ubuhake kandi ko abashefu b'Abatutsi batashakaga ko umwami avanaho ubuhake. Bavugaga ko bo bashyigiye ubwami ngo ko Abatutsi aribo badashaka umwami Kigeli. Bigize beza ibikorwa byabo bibi byo kurwanya ubwami babishyira ku Batutsi kugira ngo abaturage basanzwe bari bakunze umwami bumve ko nta kibi cyaturuka ku barwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU, ahubwo ko bafatanyije kurwanirira umwami.

45 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSABIMANA Alphonse mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

46 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUYE Ignace mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Aya mayeri yo kuvuga ko barwanirira umwami Kigeli yakoreshejwe nk'iturufu yo kwigarurira abaturage benshi mu bikorwa by'urugomo byakorerwaga Abatutsi. Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bateraga ubwoba abaturage b'Abahutu ko umuntu utifatanya nabo ari bube yanga umwami Kigeli. Gukoresha amayeri bavuga ko barwanirira umwami Kigeli birerekana neza ko abaturage muri rusange bari bishimiye uburyo umwami abayoboye cyane cyane mu duce twari dutuwe n'abaturage b'Abahutu benshi harimo na Ruhengeri.

Batwikira Abatutsi muri 1959, *administrateur* wa Teritwari ya Ruhengeri, Deman yabigizemo uruhare. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko yagendaga abwira abaturage b'Abahutu ko aricyo gihe cyo kwihimura ku Batutsi. Yababwiraga ko Abatutsi bategetse Abahutu igihe kirekire ko nabo bagomba kubategeka. Yageraga ku Batutsi akababaza impamvu batahunze nka bagenzi babo. Abatarahunze, bamwe barafashwe barafungwa, baza gufungurwa nyuma y'igihe gito[47].

Usibye gutwikira Abatutsi no gusahura ibyabo, abarokotse bahunze Igihugu, abandi bacirirwa i Nyamata mu Bugesera. Ikamyo z'Abakoloni nizo zifashishwaga mu kubajyana mu Bugesera zibavanye ahantu hatandukanye, cyane cyane kuri za paruwasi n'ahandi babaga bahungiye. Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Abatutsi babavanye kuri Paruwasi ya Janja muri Komini Gatonde, i nemba muri Komini Nyarutovu n'ahandi.

I.3. Gucira Abatutsi mu Bugesera

Abatutsi batabashije guhungira mu bindi bihugu nka Uganda, Congo, Uburundi na Tanzaniya, bakusanyirijwe ahantu hatandukanye babacira mu gace ka Bugesera.

47 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GAKIGA Jean Chrysostome mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Mu yahoze ari Komini Cyeru, nyuma yo gutwikira Abatutsi, bahungiye kuri Paruwasi Gatorika ya Nemba aho imodoka zabavanye zibatwara mu Bugesera. Umwe mu batwawe bakuwe kuri Paruwasi Gatorika ya Nemba asobanura ko:

> Nyuma yo gutwikirwa ku itariki ya 7 Ugushingo 1959, bwarakeye mu gitondo tubona imodoka kuri centrale ya Kanaba, aba misiyoneri batujyana kuri Paruwasi ya Nemba. Nyuma y'igihe gito batuzaniye amakamyo aba ariyo atujyana mu Bugesera[48].

Undi mutangabuhamya nawe avuga ko:

> Mu gace twari dutuyemo, twatangiye kumeneshwa mu kwezi kw'Ugushyingo 1959. Bigitangira, Abatutsi bakusanyirijwe muri *camp ya transit* ahabarizwa SOPYRWA, niho twabanje gucumbika. Twahageze turi bake nyuma y'iminsi mike abandi bagenda biyongera. Tumaze kuba benshi, bamwe bahise berekeza muri Zayire aho babaga bagiye gukora muri za Mine. Abatarabashije kwerekeza muri Zayire baciriwe i Nyamata mu Bugesera ahagana mu kwezi kwa Mutarama 1960[49].

Usibye kuri Paruwasi ya Nemba na SOPIRWA, Abatutsi bakusanyirizwaga ahantu hatandukanye cyane cyane kuri za Paruwasi za Kiliziya Gaturika akaba ariho bapakirwa mu makamyo yabaga yazanywe n'*Administrateur* wa Teritwari ya Ruhengeri, De Man. Ibi bikaba bigaragaza ubufatanye bwari hagati ya Kiliziya Gatorika n'abakoloni.

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48 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTANTURO Elias mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

49 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTEZIYAREMYE Jonas mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Abatutsi bameneshejwe bakajyanwa mu Bugesera, basohoreye mu nkambi zari zateguwe. Hari inkambi ebyiri: "Ruhengeri na "Kibari". Inkambi ya Ruhengeri yajyagamo Abatutsi baturutse mu duce tugize Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, ni ukuvuga abaturutse muri sheferi ya Buhoma-Rwankeli. Naho inkambi ya Kibari yajyagamo Abatutsi baturutse mu duce twa Gakenke na Byumba kubera ko ubusanzwe bahitaga "Kibari".

Abatutsi bamaze kugezwa mu Bugesera, basanze mu gace ka Nyamata hari ishyamba, hameze nabi cyane. Kubera ko wari umugambi wateguwe, bahasanze ibibandahori bisakajwe amabati agabanijwemo utwumba twinshi, bayinjizwamo ku gahato, bayatuzwamo. Babaye muri ubwo buzima mu buryo bugoranye. Umuzungu witwaga TRIPORO wabaga i Nyamata, niwe wabagezagaho ubufasha muri iyo nkambi[50].

Bageze i Nyamata ubuzima bwarabagoye cyane. Umwe mu batangabuhamya avuga uko byabagendekeye:

> Kubera imiterere ya Bugesera itandukanye cyane n'akarere twari duturutsemo, imibereho yaje kutugora cyane. Twahasanze indwara ya *Typhoide*, yica Abatutsi benshi cyane. Hari ivuriro rito cyane ku buryo ritari gushobora kwita ku barwayi bose barigannye. Ubwo ariko twaje kubaka hangari z'ibyatsi, harwariramo bamwe, gusa ntibyabujije Abatutsi gukomeza gupfa ari benshi[51]

Muri ubwo buzima, Abatutsi bumvaga ko ari ibintu bitazamara igihe, ko bazasubizwa iwabo, bagasubira mu byabo. Ariko siko byaje kugenda. Nyuma y'iminsi mike abayobozi baje kubabwira ko inkambi zigomba kuvaho, abantu bakajya gutura muri peyizana. Abantu batangiye batabyumva, barabyanga, kuko

50 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTEZIYAREMYE Jonas mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

51 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTEZIYAREMYE Jonas mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

bumvaga nta mpamvu yo kuguma mu Bugesera ko bagomba gusubira iwabo. Ubwo nibwo haje gukoreshwa andi mayeri, abayobozi b'icyo gihe bafata umwanzuro wo kubima ibyo kurya, bavuga ko bazongera gutanga ibyo kurya ku bantu bagiye muri peyizana. Babonye ko bashobora kwicwa n'inzara, baje kwemera, bava mu nkambi, berekeza mu biturage, batuzwa mu byitwaga peyizana. Muri ubwo buzima butoroshye, abaturutse hamwe bakomeje kwisungana, ku buryo wasangaga aho bagiye gutura bahita amazina asa n'ay'aho baturutse.

Mu gushaka kumenya impamvu ubuyobozi bw'abakoloni bwaciriye Abatutsi mu Bugesera, umwe mu batangabuhamya utarahigwaga wagizwe sushefu mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba, nyuma yo kuvanaho sushefu wari uhari, asobanura ko:

> Abakoloni bacira Abatutsi mu Bugesera bwari uburyo bwo kubica ariko bitagaragariye amahanga, bakicwa n'ubuzima bubi bari bajyanywemo. Ikindi na none kwari ukugira ngo ubutaka bwari ubwa Abatutsi buhabwe Abahutu kuko ngo aribo bageze mu Rwanda mbere, bityo, Abatutsi nabo bahange ahabo[52].

Umutangabuhamya wavuzwe haruguru wabaye na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba kuva 1963 kugeza 1976, avuga ko nyuma yo gutwikira Abatutsi no kubamenesha, yatumweho na *Administrateur* wa Teritwari ya Ruhengeri witwa De Man kuza gufata ibaruwa imugira sushefu by'agateganyo mu gihe cy'amezi atandatu. Ubwo bamusabye ko yazajya kureba sushefu wayoboraga agace ka Burera witwa Mwikarago wari warameneshejwe akamuha ibitabo abaturage basoreragamo. Yagiye kureba Sushefu Mwikarago amushyikiriza agapapuro abazungu bamuhaye, sushefu nawe amuha ibyo basabye.

52 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUYE Ignace mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Mu rwego rwo kurushago kumenya icyari cyihishe inyuma bamenesha Abatutsi no kubacira mu Bugesera, undi mutangabuhamya nawe abisobanura muri aya magambo:

> Ibi byose byari mu mugambi wa PARMEHUTU yarimo ishaka ubutegetsi ifatanyije n'Ababirigi. Ababirigi bashatse gukora mu Rwanda ibyo bafite iwabo. Barebeye u Rwanda mu ishusho y'Igihugu cyabo, bashatse gukora igisa na *Tutsi-land* na *Hutu-land*, ngo bamwe bajye mu gice kimwe abandi bajye mu kindi. Jenoside ikirangira, icyo gitekerezo cyaragarutse cyo kuvuga ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi babatandukanya, bamwe bagatuzwa mu gace kabo. Ibyo n'ibikekerezo bishingiye ku bukoroni bw'Ababirigi[53].

Gucira Abatutsi mu Bugesera kwari ukugira ngo bazicwe n'ubuzima bubi, kubera ko abakoloni batashatse kubica kumugaragaro. Ikindi abatangauhamya bavuga ni uko abakoloni bari bumvishije aba PARMEHUTU ko Abatutsi baje basanga Abahutu mu gihugu, ko ubutaka batunze bwari ubw' Abahutu. Kubera iyo mpamvu bagombaga kububaka, bakajya guhanga ubwabo ahantu babonaga ko ubuzima bwaho bugoranye, bashobora no kuhasiga ubuzima[54].

Mu 1961, Su-Perefe witwaga NTAMUSHOBORA Pierre, yongeye gupakira Abatutsi bari barasigaye, nabo babacira mu Bugesera. Ibyo byabaye nyuma y'amatora ya Kamarampaka ku itariki 28 Mutarama 1961. Abatutsi batatoye ibyo abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bashakaga, baratotejwe, barameneshwa, bahungira muri Zayire na Uganda, abandi babajyana mu Bugesera. Icyo gihe Abatutsi benshi barababeshyeye bavuga

53 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTEZIYAREMYE Jonas mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

54 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Bosco mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

ko batoye ubwami aho gutora Repubulika, babona impamvu yo kubamenesha[55].

Kuva mu 1959 himakajwe ingengabitekerezo y'ivangura n'amacakubiri bikozwe n'abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU, hashimangirwa inyigisho mbi zo kwanganisha Abanyarwanda, bavuga ko Umututsi ari umugome, ko ari inzoka, ibyo byose biza kuba inyigisho zo mu mashuri n'ahandi hatandukanye mu miyoborere yakurikiye icyiswe *Revolution Sociale* yo mu 1959. Abatutsi bamaze kujyanwa mu Bugesera habayeho kugabana amasambu yabo. Abatarahunze babayeho mu buzima bwo guhezwa no gutotezwa.

1.4. Kubarura no kugurisha imitungo y'Abatutsi bameneshejwe mu 1959

Nyuma y'aho Abatutsi batwikiwe, bagasahurwa ibyabo, bakicwa, abarokotse bakameneshwa kuva mu 1959 bigizwemo uruhare n'ubuyobozi bwa gikoloni bw'Ababirigi, tariki 29 Mutarama 1960, *Administrateur* wa Teritwari ya Ruhengeri J. DE MAN, yandikiye Abasushefu b'agataganyo bari bamaze gushyirwaho, amenyesha Abashefu bose ko yabonye amakuru avuga ko Abatutsi bahunze bagenda bagaruka bakagurisha inka zabo abaturage. Kubwo iyo mpamvu yabasabye ko bitarenze tariki 25 Gashyantare 1960, abasushefu bose bagomba kuba bamugejejeho ibi bikurikira:

- Umubare w'Inka zaguzwe;
- Umubare w'ibimasa;
- Umubare w'inyana.

55 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmas mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Iyo raporo na none yagombaga kugaragaza umubare w'Inka zasigaye z'Abatutsi bahunze zitaragurishwa[56].

Mu ibaruwa n° 160/AI.25 yo kuwa 13 Mutarama 1960, *Administrateur Territorial Assistant*, DECLERCO.E. yamenyesheje abatware b'Intara bose, n'abatware b'imisozi bose amategeko bagomba gukurikiza yerekeye igurisha ry'ibintu byatawe (imyaka ikiri mu mirima n'amatungo magufi) byasizwe n'Abatutsi bavuye muri *sous-chefferie* bayobora.

Ayo mabwiriza ni akurikira:

- Hazagurisha abagize inama y'umusozi, bazitonde kugira ngo ibiguzwe bitangirwe igiciro gitunganye;

- Ikiguzwe cyose kizajya gitangirwa urupapuro (*quittance*) yanditswe ho izina ry'umuguzi, naho atuye; izina rya nyir'ibintu n'aho yari atuye ataragenda.

- Umutware w'umusozi azatandukanya ku rupapuro yari yarategetswe kwandikaho ibintu byatawe n'abatwikiwe, ibintu byaguzwe bijye ukwabyo.

- Kuri buri *quitance* bazajya basobanura umubare n'ubwoko bw'ibintu byaguzwe n'igiciro cyatangiwe buri bwoko bw'ikintu. Za *quittance* zabigenewe muzazohererezwa bidatinze, mujye muvana ku mutware w'Intara izo mukeneye.

- Muzajya mwandika *lisiti* y'ibyaguzwe buri kwezi, amafaranga aherekejwe na *lisiti* y'ibyaguzwe na za *quitances* azajya kwa *comptable* wa *chefferie* uko ukwezi gushize.

56 Territoire du Rwanda-Urundi, resident du Rwanda, Territoire de Ruhengeri, Ibaruwa N° A/346/1.TSI yo kuwa 29 Mutarama 1960, yanditswe na *Adiministrateur* wa Teritwari J. DE MAN.

- Umutware w'umusozi azajya abika *copie* y'iyo *lisiti* yanditswe mu mibare y'ibidasanzwe (ibyaramuwe mu bintu byatakajwe).

Mu ibaruwa n° 161/AI.25 yo kuwa 21 Mutarama 1960 *Administrateur Territorial Assistan*t, DECLERCO.E, yandikiye Umutware w'Umusozi wa Muko, NDABEREYE, yamusabye ko yamwoherereza vuba bidatinze *lisiti* y'ibintu by'Abatutsi bavuye muri susheferi batuyemo. Yamusabye ko muri raporo amwoherereza agomba gushyiramo *lisiti* n'ahantu ibyo bintu byatwawe biri, ni ukuvuga, imirima, amatungo n'izina ry'umuturage ubirinda. DECLERCO yamusabye kohereza iyo raporo mu minsi itanu gusa, bitarenze tariki ya 26 Mutarama 1960.

Nk'uko twabikomojeho ko abaturage basanzwe b'Abahutu bagerageje guhisha amatungo n'ibikoresho bitandukanye byari byasizwe n'Abatutsi bameneshejwe ndetse ko hari n'aho abaturage b'Abahutu bagemuriraga ndetse bakanasura Abatutsi bari bahungiye mu bihugu bya Uganda na Zayire, ibyo bikorwa byababaje abakoloni batifuzaga ko Abatutsi bagira icyo bagurisha, yaba Inka cyangwa isambu. Ni muri urwo rwego bandikiye abasushefu bose babasaba ko babaha raporo ikubiyemo *lisiti* y'inka zagurishijwe, izikiriho, amazina y'abaturage bazisigaranye ndetse na *lisiti* y'imirima n'amazina y'ababisigaranye. Ibi biragaragaza uburyo Abakoloni b'Ababirigi bari inyuma igikorwa cyo kumenesha Abatutsi kubera ko ahenshi ba *Administrateur* bari inyuma y'abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bagendaga batwikira Abatutsi no kubanyaga ibyabo.

Administrateur Territorial assistant Principal, DIERCRX De CASTERIE.M. mu ibaruwa n° 692/AI.26 yo kuwa 20 Gashyantare 1961 yandikiye ba Burugumesitiri bose ba Teritwari ya Ruhengeri, akamenyesha abantu batandukanye harimo shefu wa *Centre* yakira impunzi i Nyamata, yagize ati:

> Ndabamenyesha icyo nemeje kubyerekeye Inka z'Abatutsi b'impunzi bavuye muri Territoire ya Ruhengeri ko:
>
> -Abatutsi bafite igihe cy'ukwezi kumwe kugira ngo baze kujyana inka zabo. Maze rero ndabasaba kugira ngo muzafashe abo Batutsi, niba bafite inzandiko z'inzira, kugira ngo bazashobore kurangiza mu mahoro n'ituze ibyabo n'abazaba bararagiye inka zabo. Ibihe bizaba birimo impaka, urukiko rwa Komini (*Tribunal de Canton*) ruzaca urubanza ntampaka.
>
> - Muzamenyeshe abaturage bose ko abagaragu mbasabye mbihanangiriza kuzaza mu rukiko gusaba imigabane hamwe naba shebuja. Shebuja niyanga kwitaba *convocation* y'urukiko azaba atsinzwe[57].

Kubera ko Abatutsi bari baratwawe gutuzwa mu gace ka Bugesera bageragezaga kugaruka ngo batware nibura inka zabo n'ibintu byabo byari byarasigaranywe n'abaturanyi babo, *Administrateur Territorial Assistant Principal*, DIERCRX De CASTERIE.M. yabahaye igihe kingana n'ukwezi kumwe kuba baje gutwara inka zabo, ariko bakaza bitwaje urwandiko rw'inzira babaga bahawe n'umuyobozi ukuriye *centre* yabakiriye y'i Nyamata. Muri uko kuza gutwara inka zabo, bagombaga kumvikana n'abagaragu babaga baziragiye, kugabana hagati yabo bigakorwa mu bwumvikane, hazamo ikibazo, bakitabaza urukiko rwa Komini.

Abatangabuhamya twaganiriye bavuga ko n'ubwo bari babahaye ayo mahirwe yo kujya kuzana inka basize, abenshi muri bo batinye gusubirayo. Abageragezaga kugaruka ni abari barahungiye muri

57 Mubo Administrateur DIERCRX yamenyesheje harimo: Resident du Rwanda, Chef du Centre d'Accueil à Nyamata, Ministre de l'Intérieur et Ministre des affaires sociales.

Uganda, mu duce duhana imbibi na Teritwari ya Ruhengeri. Imyaka yakurikiyeho, Leta ya Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire yasohoye Iteka ryerekeye impunzi zigaruka mu gihugu, rizibuza kugira uburenganzira ku masambu yabo basize.

Amabwiriza n° 24.20/A.09/yerekeye Iteka rya Perezida n° 25/01 ryo kuwa 26 Gashyantare 1966 ryerekeye impunzi zigaruka mu gihugu n'ibindi bibazo bizerekeye, ingingo ya 3-y'Iteka rya Perezida ivuga ko:

> Umuntu wese wari warahunze iyo agarutse ntashobora nabusa kuregera amasambu yari atuyemo cyangwa se yahingaga mbere niba ayo masambu yarahawe abandi baturage cyangwa se hari ikindi Leta cyangwa ubutegetsi bwa Komini byayageneye

Agace ka gatatu k'iyo ngingo kavuga uko ibintu byandagaye bigomba gufatwa, gaha uburenganzira abategetsi ba Komini gukondesha imirima y'impunzi amafaranga agashyirwa mu isanduku ya Leta. Impunzi itahutse ntizigera na rimwe yaka amafaranga y'ubukodeshe bw'ibintu yasize. Ibyerekeye amatungo impunzi zasize, iyo ngingo ivuga ko: *"Naho amatungo kubera ko bayaragira byarushya Komini, azagurishwa muri cyamunara bamaze gukora inyandiko-mvugo y'uko yatawe, amafaranga avuyemo akajya mu isanduku ya Komini*".

Ku bijyanye n'imitungo yononekaye yasizwe n'Abatutsi, agace ka kane kavuga ku bwishingire bw'abantu bazimiye n'ibintu byononekaye:

> Mu gihe basigaga ibintu byabo byaba ibyimurwa n'ibitimurwa, bene byo nibo batumye byandagara. Nta wishingiye uguhunga kwabo kwatewe n'ubwoba cyangwa ibikangisho. Abategetsi bariho ubu ntibashobora na rimwe kwishingira ingaruka y'uko guhunga.

Ako gace ka kane gakomeza kavuga ko:

> Ntacyo binyuranijeho n'ingingo ya 30 y'Itegeko ryo kuwa 25 Gashyantare 1963, ikirego cyose cyerekeye kubaza abantu, ibintu cyangwa indishyi izo arizo zose zerekeye ibyo byose, ntikizaburanishwa n'Inkiko. Nicyo kimwe ku bibazo nkibyo byashyikirizwa abategetsi"[58].

I.5. Ibikorwa by'Urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu gihe cy'Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire

Perezida Grégore Kayibanda amaze gufata ubutegetsi kuva mu 1962 yagaragaje urwango rukabije ku bwoko bw'Abatutsi. Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwe, buri gihe cyose inyenzi zateraga yahitaga atanga itegeko ryo kwica Abatutsi. Abatutsi bakomeje guhohoterwa bashinjwa kuba inyuma y'ibitero by' inyenzi. Ni muri urwo rwego mu gihe hagabwaga igitero cy'Inyenzi cyabaye kuwa 3 na 4 Nyakanga 1962 giturutse mu Birunga, Abatutsi benshi barafashwe baricwa cyane cyane guhera tariki ya 1 Ukuboza 1962. Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bitaga "indamage" nizo zagendaga zitwika amazu y'Abatutsi muri icyo gihe.

Umutangabuhamya wari utuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli asobanura uko byagenze:

> Muri Nyakanga 1962, Abatutsi barishwe, amazu yabo aratwikwa. Abatwikaga ni abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU biyitaga abarinzi b'amahoro cyangwa indamage. Izo

58 Amabwiriza n° 24.20/A.09/yerekeye Iteka rya Perezida n° 25/01 ryo kuwa 26 Gashyantare 1966 ryerekeye impunzi zigaruka mu gihugu n'ibindi bibazo bizerekeye. Aya mabwiriza yashyizweho umukono na Minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'abakozi ba Leta, *Lieutenant Colonel* Kanyarengwe Alexis na Minisitiri w'Ubucamanaza, Habimana Bonaventure.

> ndamage zabaga zifite imiheto n'amacumu nibo bazaga kwica Abatutsi[59].

Na none mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1963, ubwo Inyenzi zateraga mu Bugesera, na za Bugarama, Abatutsi barishwe, amazu yabo aratwikwa. Abatutsi bishwe mu 1963 babaziza ko inyenzi zateye. Icyo gihe hafashwe Abatutsi bize n'abagaragaraga ko bakomeye, bafite ubutunzi. Umutangabuhamya utarahigwaga avuga ko mu bafashwe harimo Etiènne Africa wigeze kuba Ministre; hafashwe kandi Nshogoza Francois na Mpambara n'abandi. Barababafashe bajya kubarasira i Nyamagumba, mu Ruhengeri[60].

Muri 1967 ubwo inyenzi zari zateye ziturutse mu birunga, bamwe mu Batutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri bongeye kwicwa, amazu menshi barayatwika, ndetse habaho no kongera kumeneshwa bahungira muri Uganda na Zayire. Abatarahunze, baratotejwe barafungwa ndetse habaho no gushimuta bamwe muri bo. Umutangabuhamya ukomoka mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe asobanura ibijyanye n'ibikorwa by'itotezwa bakorerwaga muri aya magambo:

> Kuva mu 1967, Abatutsi batuye muri aka gace, baratotejwe mu bihe bitandukanye ndetse baranafungwa bitwa ibyitso by'inyenzi. Umubyeyi wanjye witwa Kabirigi Denis yafunzwe muri 1967 igihe Inyenzi zateraga ziturutse mu birunga. Inzego z'umutekano zifatanije n'abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze, baraje baramufata, bamushinja gukorana n'inyenzi, nyamara ntiyarazi Inyenzi abo aribo. Baramutwaye kubw'amahirwe ntiyicwa, yongera kuboneka nyuma y'umwaka wose.

59 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmas mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

60 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTANTURO Elias mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

> Kubera ko yari asanzwe ari umukanishi, bamubeshye ko hari ibyuma bigiye gutezwa cyamunara ku Gisenyi, ubwo agenda azi ko ari ukuri, kandi yari amayeri yo gushaka uburyo bamushimuta, ubwo bamutwara batyo, ntiyongeye kugaruka[61].

Mu gihe ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda bwibasiraga Abatutsi, babatwikira no kubica, hari bamwe mu baturage basanzwe bageragezaga kubarwanaho ndetse no guhisha ibyabo, na nyuma uwabaga yatwikiwe bakagerageza kumwubakira indi nzu. Ibi biragaragaza imibanire myiza abaturage bari basanzwe bafitanye nubwo nyuma ibintu byaje guhinduka, ubutegetsi bukinjiza mu baturage ingengabitekerezo y'urwango ku Batutsi.

I.6. Kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu kazi ka Leta mu 1973 mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Muri 1973, habayeho gutoteza Abatutsi, kubirukana mu mashuri no mu mirimo ya Leta. Kwirukana abanyeshuri n'abarimu b'Abatutsi byabaye mu kwezi kwa Gashyantare 1973, bikorwa n'abanyeshuri babaga mu kanama kitwa *Comité du salut,* babifashijwemo n'ubuyobozi bwa Perefegitura. Urugero, perefe Karuhije Ignace yari yarakoze listi y'Abatutsikazi avuga ko bashotora Abahutukazi mu ishuri ry'i Rwaza. Hirukanywe abanyeshuri n'abarimu bo mu bigo by'amashuri atandukanye, harimo abo muri *Institut Notre Dame de l'Etoile, Ecole Normale de Rwaza*, n'ahandi. Mu barimu birukanywe bigishaga i Musanze harimo: Segaju Joseph, Hategekimana Joachim, Ngarambe Laurent, Ugirashebuja Jacques, n'abandi. Mu banyeshuri b'Abatutsi birukanywe harimo Felix Ngarambe, Jean Claude Rugema, Oscar Rurangwa, Leonard Musoni, etc.

61 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GAKIRE Jean Chrysostome mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Kuri *Koleji ya Musanze*, abarimu b'Abatutsi babujijwe kwinjira mu kigo, babonye ko umutekano wabo utameze neza bahungira i Jomba muri Teritwari ya Rucuru, mu cyahoze ari Zayire (DRC). Abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bo bavuye muri icyo kigo babifashijwemo na bamwe mu barimu batari bashyigikiye umugambi wo kwirukana no kwica Abatutsi.

Mu ishuri ry'uburezi (*Ecole Normale*) ry'i Rwaza, kumenesha no kwirukana Abatutsi byabaye nyuma y'aho abanyeshuri bavuye mu biruhuko by'igihembwe cya mbere muri Gashyantare 1973. Abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi birukanywe bageraga kuri 30, hirukanwa umwarimu w'Umututsi wahigishaga witwa Ngabonziza Damien[62]. Muri icyo gihe, abanyeshuri bibumbiye muri *Comité du Salut* bashyigikiwe n'ubuyobozi biraye mu Batutsi barakubita, bakomeretsamo benshi. Abarokotse bahungiye kuri paruwasi ya Rwaza. Abapadiri nibo bafashije Abatutsikazi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Rwaza, barabacikisha bamwe babajyana i Goma, i Burundi na Uganda. Mu birukanywe i Rwaza harimo Marie Mujawamariya, Mukanyirigira Consolée, Uwimbabazi Véronique n'abandi.[63]

Umutangabuhamya wigishaga mu ishuri ry'uburezi (*Ecole Normale*) ry' i Rwaza, asobanura uko birukanywe:

> Kwirukana byatangiye tuvuye mu biruhuko by'igihembwe cya mbere ku itariki ya 26 Gashyantare 1973. Mbere y'uko nsubira ku ishuri, nahuye na bamwe mu banyeshuri bari bavuye mu biruhuko i Kigali bashaka gusubira ku ishuri i Kabgayi. Bambwiye ko bafite ubwoba, ko hari ibintu bibi bigiye kuba, ko hari abanyeshuri bakomoka mu Ruhengeri bari gutegura ibintu

62 Mugesera Antoine (2004), Imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya Kabiri. Les Editions Rwandaises, Kigali, p. 243

63 Mugesera Antoine (2004), Imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya Kabiri. Les Editions Rwandaises, Kigali, p. 244

bitari byiza. Nababwiye ko njye nta makuru mfite, ko ntabyo nzi, dore ko i Rwaza nta kibazo twari dufite. Bakomeje kumbaza niba bashobora gusubira ku ishuri, mbabwira ko basubirayo. Mbabazwa cyane ko umwe muri abo banyeshuri banyumviye, yageze i Kabgayi baramwica. Ubwo nanjye nagiye ku ishuri i Rwaza, nyura aho nari nshumbitse mbika igikapu n'ibindi bintu nari mfite. Abanyeshuri babiri bo muri *section* nigishaga baraje, bati ibintu bimeze nabi ku ishuri, ko bari kubahiga ngo babice. Nabajije abo banyeshuri nti: ese ni bande? bambwira ko ari abanyeshuri b'ababahutukazi bashaka kubica.

Nyuma yo kubona ko abanyeshuri bose bigaga kuri icyo cyigo bahungiye iwanjye, nagiye gutabaza kuri Paruwasi mpasanga umupadiri witwa *Daguerre* musobanurira uko ikibazo giteye, ambwira ko nawe yabyumvise ko byabaye mu gihugu hose. Umupadiri w'umu *Aumonier* yahise aza aho ndi, ansaba ko nakwegeranya ibikoresho n'imyenda yanjye bityo ampungishe njye i Kigali. Niko byagenze, nyuma yo kwegeranya ibintu nari mfite, yantwaye muri *Voiture VW*, ndyama ku ntebe hejuru ashyiraho imyenda kugira ngo batambona. Uwo mu *Aumonier* yahise antwara i Kigali. Abanyeshuri nabo, babashakiye imodoka zibatwara kugera i Kigali. Maze kugera i Kigali, nashatse uburyo nasubira mu Bubirigi, kubera ko nari narahize; nshaka *passport* n'ibindi byangombwa, nyura inzira y'i Burundi, nsubira mu Bubirigi[64].

64 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGABONZIZA Damien, Kigali, 2018.

Kumanika urutonde ruriho amazina y'Abatutsi bagomba kwirukanwa byakorwaga n'ijoro. Mu gitondo, Abatutsi bazaga ku kazi nk'uko bisanzwe, bagasanga *lisiti* imanitse ahantu hagaragara ivuga ko batemerewe kwinjira. N'ubwo nta muyobozi wagaragaraga ko ariwe wasinye kuri iyo lisiti, Abatutsi babifataga nk'ihame, bikubahirizwa bityo. Ntawageragezaga kubaza ngo byakozwe nande? kubera iki? ……; nta mutegetsi numwe wabaga yiteguye kubarenganura.

1.7. Gutwikira Abatutsi mu 1973

Mu gihe hirukanwaga Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo ya Leta, abaturage basanzwe b'Abatutsi nabo barahohotewe, batwika amazu yabo. Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa gatatu 1973, abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU biraye mu mazu y'Abatutsi barayatwika. Batwikiye Abatutsi mu zahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Nkuli, Kinigi, Ndusu, Gatonde, Nyarutovu n'ahandi hatandukanye. Icyo gihe habaruwe amazu y'Abatutsi yatwitswe agera kuri 421.[65] Abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bavugaga ko bari gutwika ibijerijeri, kuko muri icyo gihe abaturage basakazaga ibijerijeri by' amashyaza bakarenzaho ubukangaga.

Mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 3 Werurwe 1973, abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU batwikiye Abatutsi bo muri Komini ya Nkuli no mu tundi duce duhanye imbibi nayo. Bamwe mu Batutsi bahungiye kuri Komini, abandi bahungira kuri paruwasi ya Rambura muri Komini Karago. Muri Segiteri ya Jenda, mu batwikiwe muri Werurwe 1973 harimo; Karekezi, Munyentarama, n'abandi..

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Mpiranya Mathias wari umudepite mu nteko ishingamategeko y'u Rwanda niwe washishikarizaga abaturage kwibasira bagenzi babo b'Abatutsi.

65 Mugesera Antoine (2004), Imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya Kabiri. Les Editions Rwandaises, Kigali, p.245

Abatutsi bahungiye kuri paruwasi ya Busogo, mu gihe abo muri Komini Nkuli bamwe bahungiye kuri misiyoni y'Abadivantiste b'umunsi wa Karindwi mu Rwankeri[66].

Kwibasira Abatutsi no kubasenyera muri uwo mwaka byari bimeze nko mu gihe cya muyaga yo mu 1959. Umwe mu batangabuhamya warokotse icyo gihe, asobanura ko:

> Muri Werurwe 1973, hongeye kwaduka ibikorwa by'urugomo, Abatutsi bongera kwibasirwa, barameneshwa ndetse baratwikirwa. Ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo byakorwaga n'abaturanyi b'Abahutu babishishikarijwe na Leta. Abaturanyi bacu nibo badutwikiraga nubwo hari Abahutu bafite umutima mwiza baduhishe bakaduhishira n'ibyacu[67].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu ahitwa mu Kivuruga, batwikiye Abatutsi ndetse barabamenesha. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi avuga ko mu batwikiwe yibuka harimo Kajeguhakwa, Sekayange Anastase, Senkware, Mvunabandi, Michael, n'abandi[68].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi, hatwikiwe Abatutsi benshi harimo: Bigirimana, Rwemera, Sebafunzi, Ntibarikure, n'abandi. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba na Kidaho, gutwikira Abatutsi byabaye mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1973 nk'uko bisobanurwa n'umutangabuhamya:

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66 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

67 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SEBASORE Javan mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

68 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya UWIMANA Josée mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

> Ku itariki ya 3 Werurwe 1973 abarwanashyaka ba PARMEHUTU bateye umuryango wanjye, amazu yacu yose barayatwika. Icyo gihe nari najyanye na bagenzi banjye mu nama ya *Jeunesse Agricole Catholique* i Byumba, tugeze yo dusanga bari gukubita abanyeshuri n'abarimu b' Abatutsi, padiri twari twajyanye yagiye kumpisha ahantu, nk'ejo y'aho dusubira mu rugo. Ku itariki ya 4 Werurwe 1973, bamwe mu bapolisi ba Komini barimo Havugimana Antoine na Mbarukize Frodouard baje mu rugo bategeka umubyeyi wanjye gukingura, babonye yanze, umuryango barawumena. Baramfashe bashaka kunsambanya, ndabangira, bankubita igiti cy'imbunda. Umubyeyi wanjye yaje ankulikiye, tugeze imbere duhura na Burugumesitiri Bizimana Aloys, ategeka abapolisi ko batureka, turokoka dutyo[69].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, bamwe mu Batutsi batwikiwe mu 1973 harimo Bazambanza, Ringuyeneza n'abandi. Hishwe kandi Bwijenkoziki wabanje gukubitwa cyane akakwa amafaranga nyuma ajyanywe kwa muganga yicwa n'inkoni yari yakubiswe n'uwitwa Gasherebuka Laurent wakoraga muri Komini Gatonde [70]. Abandi Batutsi benshi barafunzwe harimo Rwubaka Augustin na barumuna be Batsinda Valens, Ndakaza, Munyemanzi n'abandi. Bagiye kuri Komini bahunze, aho kwakirwa bahita babafunga[71].

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko gutwikira Abatutsi n'ubwicanyi bwababakorerwaga bwahagaritswe n'Umusirikare witwa Ruhashya Epimaque, wafungishije abatwitse amazu, bituma

69 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMUGEMA Annonciata mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

70 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMANA Alphonsine mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

71 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NYIRABABERUKA Immaculée mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

abandi batinya, ibikorwa by'urugomo bisa n'ibihagaze. Icyakora, abafashwe bahise bafungurwa, nta gihe bamaze muri gereza[72]

Nk'uko byagenze muri 1959, hari abaturage b'Abahutu bahishe amatungo n'ibikoresho byo mu mazu y'Abatutsi, ndetse hari naho bahagararaga ku mazu y'Abatutsi bagasubiza inyuma aba Parmehutu babaga baje gutwika[73].

I.8. Coup d'Etat yo mu 1973 n'ihezwa ry'Abatutsi mu nzego zitandukanye mu gihe cy'Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal

Mu 1973, hirya no hino mu duce dutandukanye tw'Igihugu hari umwuka mubi hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, hagati y'Abanyenduga n'Abakiga. Ni muri urwo rwego Habyarimana Juvénal wari umugaba Mukuru w'ingabo afatanije na bagenzi be, abo bise "*Les Onze camarades du 5 Juillet "* yahise akorera perezida Kayibanda Grégoire "*Coup d'Etat".*

Abafatanije na Habyarimana Juvénal guhirika Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire ni :

- *Général Major* Habyarimana Juvénal*: Ministre de la Garde Nationale et de la Police et Chef d'Etat-Major GN ;*
- *Lieutenant Colonel* Kanyarengwe Alexis: *Recteur du Petit séminaire* de Nyundo ;
- *Major* Nsekarije Aloys: *Directeur ONATOU* ;
- *Major* Benda Sabin : *Commandant de Cie QG et Camp Kigali* ;

72 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jerome mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

73 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

- *Major* Ruhashya Epimaque: *Commandant de Compagnie Ruhengeri ;*
- *Major* Gahimano Fabien : *Commandant 2nd Ecole des Officiers* (Kigali) ;
- *Major* Jean Nepomuscène Munyandekwe: *Attaché au Ministère de la Garde Nationale et de la Police, Service Civique de la jeunesse* ;
- *Major* Serubuga Laurent: *Attaché au Ministère de la Garde Nationale et de la Police (Appro-Gestion) ;*
- *Major* Buregeya Bonaventure : *Commandant de l'Ecole des Sous Officiers ;*
- *Major* Ntibitura Bonaventure*: Directeur de la Sûreté intérieure ;*
- *Major* Simba Aloys: *Commandant du Centre d'Instruction Kanombe.*

Coup d'Etat yakorewe Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire yabaye nyuma y'aho bamwe mu basirikare bakuru, nka Kanyarengwe, Nsekarije n'abandi bavanywe mu myanya barimo y'ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bahabwa imirimo ya gisivili. Impamvu yateye perezida Kayibanda Grégoire kubavana mu mirimo ya gisirikare ntivugwaho rumwe, icyo benshi bahurizaho ni uko yashakaga kuzamura abasirikare bakomoka mu gace k'induga bityo hakabaho iringaniza mu gisirikare, na none akaba yaratinyaga abakiga bari bamaze kuba benshi mu gisirikare cye kandi bakomeye, atinya ko nabareka bashobora kuzamukorera *coup d'Etat.*

Muri *discours* ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yo kuwa 1 Kanama 1973, avuga ko we na bagenzi be, mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga, binyuze kuri radiyo Rwanda, bamenyesheje Abanyarwanda bose ko badashobora kwihanganira politiki ya Kayibanda yo gukandamiza abasirikare bakuru abaha

imirimo mito itajyanye na *grades* zabo; ko badashobora gukomeza kwihanganira politiki y'ivangura aho ubuyobozi bwose bwiharirwa n'abantu bakomoka mu gace kamwe; ko badashobora gukomeza kwihanganira akarengane gakorwa mu buryo butandukanye, n'ibindi[74].

Mu nyandiko ngufi Jacques Morel yanditse " *Le rôle de Laurent Serubuga dans le génocide des Tutsi*" avuga ko Laurent Serubuga afatanije na bagenzi be babanje kwatsa umuriro mbere y'uko bawuzimya, ubwo bakoreraga *coup d'Etat* Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire (Morel, 2008)[75].

Ikigaragara ni uko Habyarimana Juvénal na bagenzi be bajya gukora *coup d'Etat* batari bameranye neza na perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Kugira ngo bagere ku mugambi wabo, bihishe inyuma y'imvururu zari mu mashuri no mu giturage hibasirwa Abatutsi kugira ngo babone urwitwazo bagenderaho barega Kayibanda ko yananiwe kugarura umutekano mu gihugu.

Mu nyandiko yanditswe na *Colonel* BEM Balthazar Ndengeyinka yo kuwa 20 Nzeri 2013 avuga ko:

> [...abanyeshuri b'ishuri ry'aba ofisiye biboneye n'amaso yabo Alexis Kanyarengwe amanika ku muryango wa *SIRWA* lisiti y'abakozi b'Abatutsi bahakoraga bagomba kwirukanwa. Serivisi y'ubutasi, yari ikuriwe na Alexis Kanyarengwe niyo yakoraga lisiti y'abagomba kwirukanwa muri rusange*]* *(Colonel* BEM Ndengeyinka Balthazar*)*[76].

74 Discours, messages et entretiens 5 Juillet 1973-Décembre 1974 de son Excellence, le Général Major Habyarimana Juvénal, Président de la République Rwandaise et Président du comité pour la Paix et l'Unité Nationale, 1981.

75 http://jacques.morel67.free.fr/SerubugaLaurent.pdf

76 http://sciencespolitiquesrwandaises.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/ANNEXE-1-SEBATWARE-A.pdf, January 22, 2018

Muri iyo nyandiko, *Colonel* Ndengeyinka akomeza avuga ko *Coup d'état* yo ku itariki 5 Nyakanga 1973 yabanjirijwe n'ibihe byaranzwe n'umutekano mucye, ibikorwa bifitanye isano nawo bikaba byarahereye muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. Abari inyuma y'uwo mutekano mucye bari mu itsinda ryiyise *Comité du salut*, ryari rigizwe n'abantu batandukanye, harimo Bizimungu Pasteur wakomokaga i Gisenyi mu Bushiru, Bizimungu Casimir wakomokaga mu Ruhengeri, Musabe Pasteur wakomokaga i Gisenyi mu Bushiru, Mugesera Léon wakomokaga i Gisenyi mu Cyingogo n'abandi batigeze bakurikiranwa n'ubutabera[77].

Kubera urwango Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire yari afitiye Abatutsi, yashyigikiye ibikorwa by'urugomo byabibasiraga nk'iyirukanwa ryabo mu mashuri no mu mirimo ya Leta, mu gihe Habyarimana Juvénal na bagenzi be *(Onze camarades du 5 Juillet)* babibonaga nk'amahirwe yo kubageza ku mugambi wabo wo kumuhirika ku butegetsi.

Nk'uko abatangabuhamya bavuga, nyuma ya *Coup d'état* habaye agahenge gato, ndetse Abatutsi batangira kumva ko bagiye gusubizwa agaciro, bagahabwa amahirwe angana n'ayabandi banyarwanda, nyamara uburenganzira bwabo bwagarukiye mu kwemererwa gucuruza no gukora akazi kadafite aho gahuriye na Politiki y'Igihugu.

Mu 1975, Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yashyizeho ishyaka rya Politiki, *Mouvement Révolutionaire National pour le Développement (*MRND). Nubwo ishyaka rye ryavugaga ko imwe mu ntego yaryo ari ukubumbatira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ntabwo ariko byagenze. Ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku bwoko n'akarere byarimakajwe, akomereza mu murongo w'uwamubanjirije, Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire.

77 http://sciencespolitiquesrwandaises.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/ANNEXE-1-SEBATWARE-A.pdf, January 22, 2018

Guheza Abatutsi n'abo yitaga Abanyanduga byarimakajwe kuva Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yafata ubutegetsi mu 1973. Guheza Abatutsi byakorwaga mu nzego zose, haba muri politiki, mu mashuri, imirimo ya Leta no mu nzego z'umutekano.

Muri Politiki, nta Mututsi wajyaga mu nzego nkuru za Leta, na bake barimo, bari agakingirizo. Nk'uko umwanditsi Peter Uvin abigarukaho, mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Juvénal Habyarimana, nta Mututsi n'umwe wari Burugumesitiri cyangwa perefe (mbere y'uko hajyaho amashyaka menshi ya politiki), hari umusirikare mukuru umwe w'Umututsi mu gisirikare cyose, hari Abatutsi babiri mu nteko ishingamategeko yari igizwe n'abantu bagera kuri mirongo irindwi, n'umu Minisitiri umwe w'Umututsi mu baminisitiri bagera kuri makumyabiri na batanu.[78]

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko bitari byoroshye ko Umututsi bamugira Konseye wa Segiteri; n'uwabaga yagizwe Konseye yabaga ari nk' agakingirizo[79].

Mu gisirikare naho niko byari bimeze. Umutangabuhamya wari umusirikare wa FAR avuga ko kwinjira mu gisirikare bagombaga gushakisha amakuru bakamenya neza ko ugiye kujya mu gisirikare atari Umututsi. Akomeza avuga ko bashyiragaho uburyo butandukanye bwo kurobanura abagomba kujya mu gisirikare, bagashyiraho amananiza yo gutuma Abatutsi batemererwa kwinjira igisirikare. Arabisobanura muri aya magambo:

> Kugira ngo winjire mu gisirikare bagombaga kureba icyo bita "pinye" ni ukuvuga bapimaga uburebure n'ubugari bw'igituza kugirango Abatutsi babone uko

78 Peter Uvin (1998), Aiding Violence: The Development Enteprise in Rwanda. United States of America. Kumarian Press, Inc., p.35

79 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> basigara bareke kujya mu gisirikare. Mu mirimo ya Leta naho barahezwaga, niyo mpamvu bakundaga kujya mu gipadiri n'ubufurera kuko ariho bemerwaga nta kibazo[80].

Undi mutangabuhamya wari umusirikare Mukuru mu ngabo z' u Rwanda (FAR) nawe avuga kubyo guheza Abatutsi mu nzego za Leta cyane cyane mu gisirikare muri aya magambo:

> Mu gisirikari naho hari harimo ikintu cy'irondakarere n'ubwoko. Kugira ngo bakwemerere kuba umusirikari ntabwo byashobokaga ku Batutsi. Nubwo wakora ikizamini cyanditse ukagitsinda, wagombaga kuvamo kubera icyo bitaga *test medical* aho wagendaga wambaye ubusa nta n'ikariso wambaye, ukinjira kwa muganga witwaga Baransaritse Laurent, uyu akaba yari umu *régionaliste* akaba n'umu *extremiste* wo mu rwego rwo hejuru; yari *Colonel* akaba na *Docteur*. Winjiraga mu biro bye, nyuma akwitegereza hose, yarangiza ugasohoka. Kubera ko ibizamini byo kwandika byakoreshwaga n'umuzungu w'Umubirigi akaba ariwe ukosora imibare naho igifaransa kigakosorwa na Gasana Anastase, ayo manota wasangaga adahabwa agaciro, maze bakareba cyane cyane *test medical*, akaba ariyo baheraho bavuga ko watsinzwe kubera uburyo wagaragaye imbere ya Baransaritse Laurent. Urumva ko bitari byorohereye Umututsi kwemezwa na Baransaritse Laurent ko yatsinze[81].

80 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUKIYINTWARI Jean Népomuscène mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

81 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NIZEYIMANA Wenceslas mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko kugira ngo winjire mu gisirikare wagombaga guhinduza indangamuntu, kuko iyo wabaga ufite indangamuntu yanditseho ubwoko “Tutsi” utabashaga kwakirwa. Wagombaga kuba ufite indangamuntu yanditsemo ubwoko bw’Umuhutu[82].

Mu mashuri nta mwana w’Umututsi wigaga ngo agere mu mashuri y’isumbuye na Kaminuza. Abatsindaga, amanota yabo yahabwaga abana b’Abahutu. Uwabaga abashije kwiga, iyo yarangizaga ntabwo yabashaga kubona akazi keza nk’abandi banyarwanda. Akazi babonaga, kari ako kwigisha no gukora mu bitaro.

Kugira ngo umwana w’Umututsi abone ishuri rya Leta, byasabaga ko ahinduza ubwoko bwe, ariko iyo baramukaga babimenye yarirukanwaga. Umutangabuhamya wari utuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli wahinduje ubwoko bwe kugira ngo abone uko aza ku rutonde rw’abemerewe kwiga amashuri yisumbuye asobanura uko byamugendekeye :

> Ndibuka, ndi mu mwaka wa munani amashuri abanza nakoze ikizamini cya Leta ndatsindwa nsubiyemo nabwo ndatsindwa. Umusirikari bitaga Ntakaburimvano arambwira ati, wowe ntabwo ushobora gutsinda uri Umututsi, ati shaka ukuntu ugura ubwoko bw’Ubuhutu. Nabibwiye papa aransubiza ati noneho shaka uwo witirirwa w’Umuhutu, mpindura amazina ya papa na mama, amanota asohotse nza natinze. Naje kugira ikibazo ubwo twiteguraga kujya kw’ishuri. Nagiye mu isoko kugura ibikoresho mpurirayo n’abana bo kwa Nyagasaza Mathias, basakaza inkuru ko natsinze ngiye kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye. Kuko nari namaze kumenya

82 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n’umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> ikigo nzigaho, umwaka w'amashuri waratangiye njya kuri icyo kigo, ngezeyo nsanga izina ryanjye barikuye kuri listi. Nkulikiranye neza nsanga baransimbuje umwana wo mu muryango wa Nyagasaza Mathias[83].

Ntabwo kandi byari byoroheye Umututsi kuba yabona akazi keza mu mirimo ya Leta. Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal amaze gufata ubutegetsi yakomereje mu murongo wa Kayibanda wo guheza Abatutsi. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko politiki ye itifuzaga ko hagira Umututsi wazamuka. Niyo mpamvu yababuzaga kwiga, akababuza no kujya mu gisirikare ngo batazavamo abantu bakomeye[84].

Kugira ngo Umututsi azamuke yagombaga gushakisha Umuhutu ukomeye muri Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal. Umutangabuhamya asobanura uko byari biteye :

> Aho twari dutuye, byari bikomeye Abatutsi kugira ngo bazamuke mu ntera z'akazi cyangwa bajye kwiga Kaminuza. Iyo yabaga aziranye n'Umuhutu ukomeye niwe wamufashaga kubona umwanya muri Kaminuza cyangwa akazi ahantu runaka[85].

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko n'ubwo ubutegetsi aribwo bwahezaga Abatutsi abaturage bo bari babanye neza. Umwe mu batangabuhamya ukomoka mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba asobanura ko :

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83 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Werurwe 2017

84 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMFIZI Astérie mu Karere ka Burera, Gashyantare 2017

85 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

> Ihezwa n'ivangura ryakorwaga n'abanyapolitiki n'ubutegetsi bwariho ariko abaturage wabonaga babanye neza kuko nkatwe twari tubanye neza n'umuryango wa Kaniziyo, kandi yari Umututsi, nta kibazo twari dufitanye[86].

I.9. Ivangura n'amacakubiri kuva Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal afata ubutegetsi kugeza mu 1990

Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal amaze gufata ubutegetsi mu 1973, yagendeye mu murongo w'ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku bwoko n'akarere watangijwe na Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire.

Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal ntabwo bwahaga amahirwe angana Abanyarwanda bose muri rusange, iyo byageraga ku Batutsi ho byari akarusho. Hari ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko, ku karere no ku gitsina. Abana b'abayobozi bahabwaga uburenganzira buruta ubw'abaturage rubanda rugufi. Umwe mu batangabuhamya wari umusirikare mukuru mu ngabo za FAR asobanura ko:

> Kubona umwanya mu ishuri byabonaga abana b'abayobozi cyangwa abakire. Abana bavuka mu miryango itishoboye ntabwo banganyaga amahirwe n'abavuka mu miryango y'abayobozi. Byavugwaga ko mwene Burugumesitiri atatsindwa ngo abure ishuri, mwene muhinzi atsinde abone ishuri[87].

Ivangura rishingiye ku bwoko n'Akarere umuntu akomokamo ryakorwaga cyane mu mashuri, mu gutanga akazi, mu gisirikare no mu zindi nzego zigize ubuzima bw'Igihugu. Mu mashuri,

86 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NKIRANUYE Jean Damascène mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

87 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

kujya mu ishuri ryisumbuye ntibyasabaga kuba wabonye amanota menshi, ahubwo byavugwaga ko ari abemerewe. Na none mu mashuri ivangura ryagaragariraga cyane mu gihe buzuzaga icyo bitaga *fiche signalétique*. Kuri iyo *fiche* buzuzagaho imyirondoro yose, ubwoko bw'umunyeshuri n'aho akomoka kugira ngo ibyo bizifashishwe mu kujonjora abagomba kwimuka mu cyiciro cy'amashuri yisumbuye.

Inyigisho z'ivangura n'amacakubiri byigishijwe mu mashuri mu gihe cy' ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko amasomo yigishwaga yabaga yuzuyemo amacakubiri ashingiye ku bwoko. Nk'uko byagarutsweho n'umwe mu batangabuhamya utarahigwaga:

> Mu mashuri ho ivangura ryarimo bikomeye kuko ibyo abarimu bavugaga, uko bahagurutsaga abanyeshuri ngo bavuge ubwoko bwabo, byari amacakuburi gusa. Abarimu babazaga umubare w'Abatutsi n'Abahutu ukibaza icyo bashakira umubare ukakibura. Iyo batwigishaga batubwiraga amateka ko iyo umwami yashakaga kwica yatumizaga umwana wumushishe w'Umuhutu akamushinga icumu akamuhagurukiraho agapfa, ibyo bigatuma Abahutu bagwiza urwango ku Batutsi[88].

Abana b'Abatutsi batotezwaga n'abarimu ndetse n' abanyeshuri bagenzi babo iyo mwarimu yabaga arangije kwigisha isomo ry'amateka. Amateka bigishwaga yari ayo kubiba urwango n' amacakubiri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Amateka ubwayo yigishwaga yari yanditse mu buryo bwo kwerekana ububi bw'Umututsi. Umutangabuhamya wakorewe itotezwa asobanura uko byabagendekeraga:

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88 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jerôme mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

> Natangiye amashuri abanza mu 1976. Igihe cyose mbere yuko isomo ritangira, mwarimu yahagurutsaga Abahutu, nyuma Abatutsi. Kubera ko ntari nzi ubwoko bwanjye, nahagurukaga mu Bahutu, mwarimu akankubita ngo ndigira Umuhutu kandi ntariwe. Kandi uko baduhagurutsaga, berekanaga itandukaniro ryacu n'Abahutu, bakerekana ibiganza byacu n'indesho yacu. Ibyo rero byanteraga imfunwe, kuko numvaga ntameze nk'abandi[89].

Undi mutangabuhamya nawe asobanura uko byamugendekeye:

> Iyo twabaga turi kwiga isomo ry'amateka Abatutsi bose bahuraga n'ikibazo kuko baradukubitaga. Mwarimu yatubwiraga ibyo Abatutsi bakoreraga Abahutu ko babahatse bakababaheka, ko ngo Nyirabiyoro yari afite inkota yitwa ruhuga yafataga akayicisha umwana w'Umuhutu kugirango iyo nkota ihage. Bene izo nyigisho zimakaza urwango zatumaga Abatutsi bose bakubitwa. Hari n'igihe batubwiraga ngo tubaheke nk'uko nabo baduhekaga, ibyo babikoraga iyo twabaga dutashye[90].

Inyigisho zatangwaga zigaragaza ububi bw'Abatutsi zagiraga ingaruka mbi ku mibanire yabo na bagenzi babo b'Abahutu, ndetse zigatuma abana b'Abatutsi bahorana ipfunwe. Umutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Nkumba, asobanura iryo mfunwe muri aya magambo:

> Najyaga mu ishuri nikandagira, kubera ko mwarimu yahoraga ancunaguza, igihe cyose akabwira abanyeshuri bagenzi banjye ngo mbese babonye

89 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

90 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> agatutsi, bikambababaza cyane. Twajyaga gukina, abanyeshuri bakanjomba intoki mu maso, najya kubarega kwa mwalimu, akavuga ngo ninjye nabendereje. Nakomeje gutotezwa ariko ndihangana ndangiza amashuri abanza, nkora ikizamini cya Leta, bambwira ko natsinzwe, kandi hari benshi narushaga mu ishuri. Kubera ko ntari nemerewe kwiga nk'abandi, nagiye kwiga muri CERAI[91].

Guhagurutsa buri gihe cyose abana b'Abatutsi mu ishuri berekana imiterere yabo, bwari uburyo bwo kubatandukanya na bagenzi babo. Gutoteza abana b'Abatutsi byatumye benshi bava mu ishuri. Umutangabuhamya wari ugeze mu mwaka wa kane w'amashuri abanza avuga ko yaretse ishuri kubera guhora akubitwa n'abanyeshuri bagenzi be bitewe n'ibyo mwarimu yabaga yabigishije mu ishuri. Agira iti:

> Njye byagezaho mpagarika gusubira ku ishuri kubera ko iyo twabaga dusubiye murugo, bagenzi banjye b'Abahutu bambwiraga kubaheka ngo kubera ko basogokuru babo bahekaga Abatutsi. Mu kiruhuko twagiraga, barankubitaga, bambwira ko ngomba kwishyura ibyo ba data bakoze[92].

Mu gisirikare ho byari bigoye cyane kwemerera Umututsi kukinjiramo. Ivangura n'amacakubiri mu gisirikare byafashe intera yo hejuru kugeza ubwo ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikare bubujije abasirikare muri rusange kurongora abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi. Umutangabuhamya wari umusirikare wa FAR asobanura ko :

> Bigeze muri 1980, nibwo Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yazengurutse mu basirikare ababwira ko nta Muhutu wemerewe kurongora Umututsikazi.

91 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUHIMPUNDU Tabéa mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

92 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> Yanavuze ko uwaramuka ashatse kurongora Umututsikazi ko agomba kwirinda gusezerana nawe imbere y'amategeko, ko agomba kubana nawe, badasezeranye. Abasirikare n'abategetsi bakuru ba FAR bakomeje gushaka Abatutsikazi ariko abenshi babanye nabo bisa nk'aho ari amahabara yabo, kuko batigeze bashaka gusezerana nabo imbere y'amategeko. N'abasezeranye nabo byageze muri Jenoside baba aba mbere mu kubatanga ngo bicwe[93].

Undi mutangabuhamya nawe avuga ko yari afite nyina wabo wagombaga gushyingirwa umusirkare wo mu ngabo za FAR, ariko itariki igeze, *Colonel* Serubuga Laurent abuza wa musirikare ko bashyingiranwa.

> Ndibuka mu 1990, hari mama wacu wakundanye n'umusirikare wo mu ngabo za FAR, ariko bagiye gushyingirwa, Colonel Laurent Serubuga aramubuza kuko yari Umututsikazi, nyuma yaje kurongorwa n'undi musore[94].

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, imibereho y'Abatutsi muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yakomeje kuba mibi, akenshi bagahohoterwa bazira ubusa. Umwe mu batangabuhamya twaganiriye, abisobanura muri aya magambo:

> Guhohoterwa byagezeho biba ikintu gihoraho mu buzima bw'Abatutsi. Nyuma y'uko *Colonel* Kanyarengwe Alexis ahunze bavuga ko yagiye mu Nkotanyi, Abatutsi benshi bakomokaga mu gace kamwe nawe birukanywe mu mirimo; aha twavuga nka Rutimbuguza wabagaga muri *Camp Kanombe*

93 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BUSENI MUNYEJABO Enock mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

94 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAHIRO Vincent mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

ariko agahita yirukanwa hamwe n'umugore we wari umuganga[95].

Ku bijyanye n'itotezwa ry'Abatutsi n'ibikorwa by'urugomo byabakorerwaga, Christophe Mfizi (2016:13-14) mu nyandiko ye yise " *Le Rézeau Zéro (b), Fossoyeur de la Démocratie et de la République au Rwanda (1975-1994*", avuga ko bikozwe na Protais Zigiranyirazo mu 1978, Guverinoma yateguye ibarura ry'Abaturage, ariko abantu benshi batabashije kumenya impamvu y'iryo barura. Amwe mu makuru yagendaga avugwa hirya no hino mu duce twa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, yavugaga ko *Colonel* Alex Kanyarengwe, Ministiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini (Ministre de l'Interieur), yifuzaga kumenya umubare nyawo w'Abatutsi batuye muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, ngo abarimbure. Ayo makuru ntiyari impamo, yari yahimbwe n'abakoranaga bya hafi na Protais Zigiranyirazo, nka Burugumesitiri wa Kinigi, Gasana Tadeyo, agamije gutera ubwoba Abatutsi ngo bahungire muri Zayire bityo Protais Zigiranyirazo abone uko yigarurira imirima yabo. Babwiraga Abatutsi ko babagurira imirima yabo, nabo bakemera kuyibagurisha ku mafaranga make, aho kugira ngo bayisige bagende imbokoboko. Mfizi Christophe avuga ko ayo mayeri yatumye Abatutsi b'Abagogwe bagurisha imirima yabo ku mafaranga make, ndetse bamwe muribo bahungira muri Zayire, bityo intego ya Protais Zigiranyirazo igerwaho.

Christophe Mfizi akomeza avuga ko icyo kibazo cy'akarengane kakorewe Abagogwe yakigejeje ku nzego zitandukanye ndetse akimenyesha Perezida wa Repubulika, Juvénal Habyarimana, ariko *Colonel* Sagatwa ntiyakunda ko ubutumwa bumugeraho. Imirima y'Abagogwe yaguzwe muri ubwo buriganya yagizwe *plantation* y'ibirayi ihuriweho na Protais Zigiranyirazo, Elie Sagatwa na Séraphin Rwabukumba[96].

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95 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GAFEBU Pierre Claver mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

96 Mfizi Christophe (2006), " *Le Rézeau Zéro (b), Fossoyeur de la Démocratie et de la République au Rwanda (1975-1994)*. Rapport de consultation rédigé à la demande du Bureau du Procureur du Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda.

Gutoteza Abatutsi byajyanaga no kubita amazina atesha agaciro, nko kubita abashyondori, abatunnyetsi n'andi mazina mabi. Abatangabuhamya twaganiriye nabo bavuga ko ayo mazina mabi bayitwaga na bagenzi babo baturanye cyane cyane iyo bashakaga kubiyenzaho cyangwa bagamije kubateza umutekano muke.

Iyo Umututsi yatambukaga, abaturage baryanaga inzara ntibatinye no kumwerurira ko azicwa. Byakomeraga cyane iyo Umututsi yabaga avuye kubanjura, abaturage bamwiyenzagaho bamubeshyera ko agendana amasasu mu cyansi, bakamutegeka kuyabogora. Mu mashuri, abarezi batotezaga abana b'Abatutsi bababwira ko banuka, ngo kubera amavuta y'Inka bisize, nyamara ntayo bisize.

Ibikorwa bijyanye no gutoteza Abatutsi no kubatesha agaciro byari bigamije gutinyura abaturage b'Abahutu no kubereka ko Umututsi ari mubi bityo kumwica ko nta cyaha baba bakoze.

Guhera mu Kwakira 1990, gutotezwa no guteshwa agaciro byakozwe ku mugaragaro, aho noneho batangiye kubita inzoka, inyenzi n'andi mazina mabi. Iyo Abatutsi bavaga kubanjura, abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze n'iz'umutekano bafataga amata bakayashyiramo igiti ngo bumve ko nta masasu bagemuriye Inkotanyi. Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, Kajelijeli Juvénal yari yarabwiye abaturage ko nibaramuka bahuye n'Abatusi bafite amata, bagomba kujya babasaka bakareba niba nta masasu ari mu cyansi. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko ibyo byatumaga babogora amata yabo kuko babaga bayashyizemo umwanda.

Mu rwego rwo gukomeza gushakisha impamvu bashingiraho batoteza Abatutsi, iyo babasanganaga radiyo bumva amakuru, barababafataga bakabacunaguza bababeshyera ko basanze bavugana n'Inkotanyi. Nta Mututsi wabashaga kujya mu isoko ngo abashe kugurisha itungo rye nk'inka cyangwa ihene, kuko abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze nka Konseye cyangwa *membres* ba

Serire bafataga amatungo yabo cyangwa imyaka bari bajyanye mu isoko bakabitwara, bakababeshyera ko bashaka amafaranga yo koherereza Inkotanyi.

Akarengane, ivangura n'amacakubiri ni bimwe mu byatumye RPF-INKOTANYI itangiza urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990.

IGICE CYA KABIRI : IBIKORWA BY'URUGOMO N'UBWICANYI BYAKOREWE ABATUTSI HAGATI YA 1990 NA 1993

Nyuma y'itangira ry'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu kuwa 01 Ukwakira 1990, Abatutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri baribasiwe, baratotezwa, abenshi baricwa. Hishwe cyane cyane abo mu makomini ya Nkuli, Mukingo na Kinigi. Mu yandi makomini asigaye bishwe mu buryo buteruye nko muri Komini Kigombe, Nyamutera, Gatonde, Ndusu, Nkumba n'izindi.

Kwica Abatutsi no kubahohotera byari byarateguwe neza mbere y'uko RPF-INKOTANYI itangiza urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu. Umwe mu batangabuhamya twaganiriye wari umusirikare mukuru mu ngabo za FAR avuga ko mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1989 *Colonel* Nsekarije Aloys yakoresheje inama abaturage ba Segiteri ya Kintobo, mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, ababwira ko hari amakuru bafite ko Abatutsi bahunze bari kwitegura gutera Igihugu, ariko ko nibibeshya bagatera, bene wabo bari imbere mu gihugu bazicwa :

> Ubwo yari mu gace k' iwacu (Komini Nkuli), *Colonel* Nsekarije Aloys yatubwiye ko hari Abatutsi bari kwitoza muri Uganda bashaka gutera Igihugu, yongeraho ati: Ese baribwira ko nibatera, bene wabo bizababera amahoro? Ati biriya bitutsi byose ndetse n'uriya witwa Kanyarwanda ntimukamureke. Nibibeshya bagatera, benewabo bari mu gihugu bazicwa. Yabivugaga aseka, ariko ubutumwa yashakaga gutambutsa bwageze ku baturage[97].

Igitero cya RPF-Inkotanyi kikaba cyarabaye urwitwazo n'imbarutso yo gutangira gutoteza no kwica Abatutsi mu duce dutandukanye twa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

97 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya Major NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

2.1. Ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

2.1.1.Gufunga no kwica Abatutsi babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi

Ibikorwa bijyanye no gufunga no kwica Abatutsi babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi byashyizwemo imbaraga nyuma y'igitero cy'Inkotanyi cyo kuwa 1 Ukwakira 1990. Byatangiye byibasira cyane cyane Abatutsi bize n'abifashije bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso by'inyenzi- Inkotanyi, ko bavugana nabo ndetse ko babashyira amakuru. Kubera ibyo binyoma babageretseho, Abatutsi benshi barafashwe barafungwa, bamwe muri bo baburirwa irengero abandi bicwa ku mugaragaro. Nyamara usibye kumva ngo Inkotanyi zateye, benshi mu Batutsi ntibari bazi abateye abaribo.

Kwitwa ibyitso by'inyenzi nk'amayeri yakoreshwaga n'ubutegetsi bwariho yatangiye kuva kera hagamijwe kwibasira no gushaka intandaro yo kwica Abatutsi. Abatutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri abenshi muri bo cyangwa bose nta na hamwe bahuriraga n'ibikorwa bya Politiki ku buryo bagombaga kwibasirwa n'Ubutegetsi bwariho.

Nk'uko twabivuze haruguru, Abatutsi bibasiwe cyane ni abize, abagaragaraga ko bakomeye kurusha abandi nibo bafashwe mu ikubitiro. Umutangabuhamya wafashwe icyo gihe akanafungwa asobanura ko:

> Mu gihe Inkotanyi zari zimaze gutera, barazaga bahereye cyane cyane mu bantu bize, bakababafata bakabajyana ngo bazi amakuru y'Inkotanyi, bakabajyana ntibagaruke, nyuma bajya mu ba Pasitoro, bigera igihe bajya no mu batarize[98].

98 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SENYANA Gaëtan mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Werurwe 2017

2.1.1.1. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, hafunzwe mu byitso Abatutsi benshi babeshyerwa gukorana n'Inkotanyi. Abo twabashije kumenya amazina harimo Pasteur w'Itorero ry'Abadivantisiti b'umunsi wa Karindwi witwa Gashyashyari, umukuru w'Itorero ry'Abadivantiste rya Mukamira Munyantarama Théoneste, Havugimana n'umwarimu wigishaga mu mashuri yisumbuye mu Rwankeri. Mu bandi bafunzwe harimo kandi Kayumba, Sindambiwe, Sekamasa, Gatanazi Berchmans, Kayumbu, Kabirika, Tugiremungu, Gatanazi, Havugimana, Nyirakajeje, Rukanika, n'abandi. Rukanika yatwawe inshuro eshatu, ubwa mbere baramutwaye baramukubita ariko ntiyapfa, imvura iguye arahembuka arataha. Abayobozi bamaze kubimenya baragarutse baramutwara bamutemera mu kiyaga cya Nyirakigugu. Abamujyanye baribayobowe na Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka ari kumwe na Maniraho Claude[99]

Mu bafashwe mu byitso muri Segiteri Mukamira twavuga Kabirika Thomas wavutse mu 1934 mwene Bitsike na Nyiramashaza wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1991 afungirwa Nkuli, Rugeshi; Gaterura Venuste alias Panda wavutse mu 1959, mwene Kabirika na Mukandekezi wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1991 afungirwa Nkuli, Rugeshi; Gasiringi mwene Ndindamahina wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1994 afungirwa Nkuli, Rugeshi; Karahamuheto mwene Birenzwa na Nyirarwimo wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1991 afungirwa Nkuli, Rugeshi; Karera mwene Birenzwa na Nyirarwimo wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1991 afungirwa Nkuli, Rugeshi; Jigija Félicien mwene Sebasambizi

99 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'abatangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, na MPETA Ennias mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017.

na Mayobere wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1992 afungirwa Nkuli, Rugeshi; Mugemangango mwene Jigija; Gatemba; Gasherebuka; Gasukari mwene Rudasubira na Nyirampongo wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1993 afungirwa Mutovu; Kayumba Zakariya mwene Nkubito na Nyiranjome wari utuye muri Nkuli, yafashwe mu 1992 afungirwa mu kigo cya gisirikare; Mushatsi mwene Binono wafashwe mu 1992; n'abandi.

Abafashwe mu byitso muri Segiteri Jenda harimo Musare mwene Ndangiza na Nyirabuhwa, wavutse mu 1946. Yafashwe ku itariki ya 26 Mutarama 1991; Kabuguzo mwene Katabogama na Nyirakarera, wavutse mu 1962, yafashwe ku itariki ya 26 Mutarama 1991[100].

Mu buhamya bwatanzwe n'uwari Resiponsabule wa Serire Kagano, Segiteri Jenda, Komini Nkuli, avuga ko nyuma y'itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze nka ba Konseye bibasiraga Abatutsi babashinja ibinyoma ko bakorana n'Inkotanyi kugira ngo babone impamvu yo kubafunga. Atanga urugero rwa Konseye wa Segiteri Kareba, Bwiko, wari uvuye kuri Komini Nkuli, ubwo yanyuraga muri Serire Kagano yahasanze abaturage b'Abatutsi barimo Kondera, Nyirambyeyi na Diregiteri w'amashuri abanza, Ndayambaje, barimo banywa inzoga mu kabare, arangije arabafata abashyira ku ngoyi nta cyaha bakoze.

Umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko yabajije Konseye impamvu yabashyize ku ngoyi amusubiza ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Yabarekuye nyuma y'aho batanze amafaranga yo kwigura. Uyu mutangabuhamya avuga kandi ko *Lieutenan*t Hasengineza ari kumwe n'undi musirikare atibuka amazina, na Ndinkabandi Gaspard bitaga Likonje wari utuye mu Runyanja, bafashe abitwa Bundugu, Gitoke, Kanini na Tangari bajya kubafunga. Byabaye ngombwa ko abavandimwe babo batanga inka kugira ngo babarekure n'ubwo nyuma bongeye kubafata bakicwa.

100 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Buhoma, Umurenge wa Jenda.

Umutangabuhamya wazuzwe haruguru avuga ko we ubwe ariwe washyikirije Konseye wa Segiteri Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe, inka ebyiri zatanzwe na Munyakaberano na Gasabune kugira ngo Gitoke na Kanini babashe kurekurwa. Gitoke na Kanini bishwe muri Mata 1994 naho Bundugu yishwe muri Mutarama 1991[101].

Abafatwaga babajyanaga kuri Komini Nkuli akaba ariho bafungirwa abandi bakajya kubafungira muri gereza ya Ruhengeri. Umwe mu batangabuhamya bafungiwe muri gereza ya Ruhengeri asobanura uko byagenze:

> Intambara itangira tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, Abatutsi bahuye n'akaga gakomeye. Aho nigishaga mu Rwankeri, twabuze aho duhungira. Byageze ku itariki ya 4 Ukwakira 1990 bambuza no gusohoka mu nzu nari ntuyemo. Ku itariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990, haje imodoka irimo abapolisi babiri banshyira muri iyo modoka ndi kumwe n'uwitwa Emmanuel, batujyana kuri Komini Nkuli. Bukeye mu gitondo, umupolisi wa Komini yaraje atubwira ko Perefe Nzabagerageza Charles adutumyeho. Baradufashe badushyira na none mu modoka baratujyana. Aho kugira ngo dukomeze umuhanda ujya Ruhengeri, batunyujije ku mugabo w'Umututsi witwa Masabo wari umuganga akaba ariwe wavuraga Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mpiranya Mathias. Ubwo badupakiye hamwe muri iyo modoka batujyana kuri *brigade* ya Ruhengeri. Twarahageze dusanga ibintu bimeze nabi cyane. Twahasanze Abatutsi benshi, barimo babakubita, babarisha amabuye, hariho n'intumbi z'abamaze kwicwa. IPJ wa *brigade* ya Ruhengeri yahise aza aho ndi arambwira ngo nitegure ngiye kwicwa, ndamubwira nti ntakibazo. Yanditse mu

101 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Buhoma, Umurenge wa Jenda, Akagari ka Runyanja.

gitabo ko bansanganye amabanga y'Inkotanyi, ko nkorana nazo. Twavuye kuri *brigade* bajya kudufungira muri gereza ya Ruhengeri. Batugejeje muri gereza, twasanze umuyobozi wa gereza ya Ruhengeri, Sukiranya, yashatse umuntu wo kutwica. Masabo niwe watubanjirije, ageze aho bagombaga kumwicira ahasanga abantu yavuraga mu Rwankeri, umwe muri bo agaruka yihuta abwira Sukiranya ko Abatutsi yabahaye bo kwica ko basanze atari Inkotanyi ahubwo ko harimo na Masabo w'umuganga kandi ko nta kibi bamuziho. Sukiranya isoni zaramwishe, arangije aravuga ngo ubwo mutabishe nimubajyane aho bafungirwa. Batuvanye aho bagombaga kutwicira batujyana mu kindi cyumba cya gereza cyitwaga *special* hafi y'aho Rizinde na bagenzi be bari bafungiye. Ako kumba kari gato cyane kandi twari dufungiwemo turenga abantu magana abiri. Muri ako kumba, amatara yahoraga yaka. Twabayeho mu buzima bubi, kugeza mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991, ubwo gereza ya Ruhengeri yabohozwaga n'ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi, turokoka dutyo. Njye nahise njyana n'Inkotanyi, Masabo yafashe inzira asubira mu Rwankeri, ageze Busogo muri Komini Mukingo, ahasanga Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, Kajelijeli Juvénal, yongera kumufunga. Nyuma yo kumufungura, Burugumesitiri yahise amwicisha. Naho Emmanuel yiciwe mu nzira ataragera muri Komini Nkuli[102].

Abandi Batutsi bajyanwaga mu Kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, byagera n'ijoro imodoka ikabapakira bakajya kwicirwa ku buvumo

102 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDUWAYEZU Elie mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

bwa Nyaruhonga. Bamwe mu bajyanywe kwicirwa Nyaruhonga harimo Sekajari, Jigija, Kaboga n'abandi benshi[103].

Mu bafashwe bababeshyera kuba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, bamwe muri bo bagiye kwicirwa ahantu hatazwi. Abishwe muri ubwo buryo harimo: Pasteur Gashashayi, Bundugu Faustin, Havugimana Jean de Dieu, Kanyeshuri, Tangari, Kabirika Thomas, n'abandi. Batwawe n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Mukamira, kuva ubwo nta makuru yabo yongeye kumenyekana, ntabwo higeze hamenyekana uko bishwe[104].

Umutangabuhamya wari Resiponsabule wa Serire Kagano, Segiteri Jenda avuga ko iyo abasirikare ba FAR bazaga gufata Abatutsi, uwo bafataga baramutwaraga ntiyongere kuboneka nk'uko yabishimangiye muri aya magambo: "*Mu 1993, ku itariki ya 13 Gashyantare 1993 nahungishije Senyana n'inka ze ubwo bari bagabweho ibitero. Iyo abasirikare bazaga gufata Umututsi, baramujyanaga ntazongere kugaruka ukundi"*[105]

Iyo abavandimwe b'Abatutsi bajyaga kubaza kuri Komini aho babatwaye, abayobozi b'inzego zishinzwe umutekano babasubizaga ko bagiye kwiga Makelele. Makelele akaba ari imvugo yakoreshwaga isobanura ko biciwe ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga[106].

Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko Konseye wa Segiteri Mukamira, Kabutura Anastase, ariwe wazaga kubafata afatanije n'abasirikare bakabajyana mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira.

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103 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

104 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, na MUKAMUGEMA Annonciata mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

105 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Buhoma, Umurenge wa Jenda, Akagari ka Runyanja.

106 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Iyo bamaraga kubageza muri icyo kigo, barabakubitaga, bakanakorerwa iyicarubozo (*torture*) babasaba kuzana imbunda bafite, kandi ntazo bigeze ndetse nta n'amakuru bafite ajyanye n'igitero cy'Inkotanyi. Abatangabuhamya bafungiwe mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira bavuga ko bakubitwaga mu buryo buteye ubwoba kugeza ubwo umwe muro bo witwa Kayumba yishwe n'inkoni[107].

Abayobozi barimo ba Konseye ba Segiteri n'abashinzwe umutekano bavugaga ko Abatutsi bafite imbunda bahawe n'Inkotanyi ngo kandi ko bafite gahunda yo kwica Abahutu. Ibyo babashinjaga byababaga ari ibinyoma, nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya utarahigwaga wavaga inda imwe na Konseye wa Segiteri ya Kareba, Komini Nkuli:

> Nabajije Konseye wa Segiteri ya Kareba, yari mwene wacu, mubaza impamvu yafungishije Umututsi witwa Sentama amubeshyera ko afite imbunda yahawe n'Inkotanyi, arambwira ngo mbese ibyo birandeba? Guhera icyo gihe yatangiye kubona ko tudahuje ibitekerezo akajya yirinda kumvugisha[108].

Mu bayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze n'inzego z'umutekano bagize uruhare mu ifungwa n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini Nkuli, harimo: Konseye wa Segiteri Mukamira, Kabutura Anasthase; Konseye wa Segiteri Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe; Konseye wa Segiteri Kareba, Bagirubwiko; Umupolisi wa Komini Nkuli witwa Sebagabo; *Lieutenant* Hasengineza Boniface; *Major* Bizabarimana, Burugumetsri wa Komini Nkuli, Mpiranya Mathias, etc.[109]

107 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

108 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Baptiste mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Werurwe 2017

109 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Baptiste mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Werurwe 2017

Umusirikare witwa *Lieutenant* Hasengineza yagaragaraga cyane mu bikorwa byo gufata no gutoteza Abatutsi bo muri Komini Nkuli. Yafataga Abatutsi bamwe akajya kubafungira kuri Komini, byagera mu ijoro akabapakira imodoka bakajya kubicira ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga[110].

2.1.1.2. Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo**,** umutangabuhamya wari umusirikare mu ngabo za FAR avuga ko Abatutsi bafatwaga nk'ibyitso ari abize amashuri cyangwa abandi bakomeye bafite ubushobozi. Bafatwaga n'inzego z'umutekano hakurikijwe lisiti yabaga yakozwe na ba Konseye bayobora za Segiteri. Mu bafashwe muri Komini Mukingo harimo Rudatinya, Segahwege, Sebinega, Kaderevu, Kateyiteyi, Biniga, Nshutinzima, Gihoza, Bernard Karyango, Baheza, Gapande, Sebukayire, Ngango, Kabango, Kabanda, Gasahane, Bukumba, Nsangira, Muhamiriza, Mukankundiye, Boduwe, Uwurukundo, Hakizimana Toto, Nkundakozera, Forora n'abandi. Hari Kandi Mukamusoni Agnès, Mugabekazi Dorothée na Bizimana Emmanuel, Gatera Gérard, Mukankusi Petronile, Nsengiyumva Antoine na Mukandekezi Ida bari batuye mu yahoze ari Segiteri Kimonyi. Abenshi muri bo habise bicwa muri Mutarama 1991, bicirwa kuri Komini Mukingo nyuma bajya kubajugunya mu buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga[111], [112].

Umutangabuhamya wari *brigadier* wa Komini Mukingo asobanura uko byagenze:

110 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

111 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

112 Ayo makuru aboneka na none mu Nyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Mutobo, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Kagezi.

> Mu 1990 nari *brigadier* wa Komini Mukingo. Ibyitso nitwe twabafataga, twabaga tubahawe na ba Konseye ba za Segiteri. Abishwe mu byitso babaga ari Abatutsi bize cyangwa abandi bakomeye bafite ubushobozi. Abo nibuka ni Rudatinya, Segahwege, Sebinega, Kaderevu, Kateyiteyi, Biniga, Nshutizima, Gihoza, Bernard, Bukumba, Karyango, Baheza, Gapande, Sebukayire, Ngango, Kabango, Kabanda n'abandi ntibuka. Bose twabiciye kuri Komini Mukingo tujya kubajugunya mu buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga[113].

Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, Kajelijeli Juvénal yagize uruhare rukomeye mu ifungwa, itotezwa n'iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Mukingo. Minisitiri Nzirorera Joseph wakomokaga muri iyi Komini, nawe yagize uruhare rukomeye mu kwicisha Abatutsi bari bahatuye.

Mu ibaruwa n^{o} 1028/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 11/10/1990, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, Juvénal Kajelijeli, yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri amugezaho listi yatanzwe na Konseye wa Segiteri ya Muhingo iriho amazina y'abo yise inyangarwanda z'ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, avuga ko abenshi muribo bamaze gufatwa bakaba baramaze gushyikirizwa inzego zibishinzwe. Abo ni abakurikira:

1. Nahumuremyi Gratien wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Gataraga;
2. Gasahane J. D wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Rwinzovu;
3. Karekezi Aloys wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Busogo;
4. Bajyagahe Bernard wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Shingiro;
5. Baheza Antoine wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Shingiro;

113 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

6. Gafebu Pierre Claver wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Kinigi;
7. Mutanguha Chrysologue wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Gataraga.

Abo muri Komini ya Kinigi bafashwe bagashyikirizwa inzego bireba nk'uko bigaragara muri iyo baruwa yanditswe na Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli ni Sekarara, Gaferege, Daniyeri, Karehe na Sebuyange, bose bo muri Segiteri Nyarugina[114].

2.1.1.3. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi naho Abatutsi benshi barafashwe barafungwa bababeshyera kuba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Mu bafunzwe babashije kumenyekana harimo: Karehe Antoine wavutse mu 19938, mwene Rushemwa na Nyirankuliza wafatiwe Bushokora; Bizimana Jeand de Dieu wavutse mu 1973, mwene Karemera na Nyiramirimo, wafatiwe Kigome; Sembonyi Elasto wavutse mu 1975, mwene Migabo na Nyirandeze wafatiwe Bushokoro; Rutikanga Sarom wavutse mu 1970, mwene Sekinemwa na Nyiraruhato, wafatiwe Bushokoro; Kabusoro wavutse mu 1945, mwene Nyaruhungura na Musana wafatiwe Bushokoro; Bugirigiri wavutse mu 1950, mwene Sebutagwira na Nyirahungo wafatiwe Bushokoro; Nsenga wavutse mu 1972, mwene Ntambara na Kabusoro wafatiwe Bushokoro; Bagayindiro Samuel; Nyiraruhato Assinath wavutse mu 1949, mwene Nyirimanzi na Nyiramajyambere wafatiwe Rugeshi mu 1991 afungirwa muri gereza ya Komini Kinigi; Hakizimana wavutse mu 1957, mwene Gatebo na Nyiramugwera wafatiwe Rugeshi mu 1991 afungirwa muri gereza ya Komini Kinigi; Gatebo mwene Nkikabahizi na Nyirabusoro wafatiwe Rugeshi mu 1991 afungirwa muri kasho ya Komini Kinigi; Kanyamasizi

114 Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Komini Mukingo, Ibaruwa n° 1028/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 11/10/1990 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal, yandikira Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri.

wavutse mu 1963 mwene Gatebo na Nyiramugwera wafatiwe Rugeshi mu 1991 afungirwa muri kasho ya Komini Kinigi; Kaberaho wavutse mu 1959 mwene Gatebo na Nyiramugwera wafatiwe Rugeshi mu 1991 afungirwa muri kasho ya Komini Kinigi; Mboneza wavutse mu 1961 mwene Gatebo na Nyiramugwera wafatiwe Rugeshi mu 1991 afungirwa muri kasho ya Komini Kinigi; Gafebu Claver, Sabine, Salimu, Gafifi, Munyanziza Alexis, Biniga, Mugarura, Sehegeri,Bititerura, Murasandonyi, Zirarushya, Nsababera n'abandi amazina yabo atabashije kumenyekana, bamwe muri bo bafungiwe muri kasho ya Komini Kinigi, abandi benshi bafungirwa muri gereza ya Ruhengeri.

Gutotezwa no kwicwa kw'Abatutsi bari batuye muri Komini Kinigi byaje gukomera cyane nyuma yaho abasirikare ba RPF-Inkotanyi bagabye igitero mu mujyi wa Ruhengeri bagafungura imfungwa n'abagororwa bari bafungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri, kuya 23 Mutarama 1991.

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko iminsi yakurikiyeho, cyane cyane hagati y'itariki 26-29 Mutarama 1991, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinigi, Gasana Tadeyo, afatanije na ba Konseye ba za Segiteri zitandukanye biraye mu Batutsi barabica, abarokotse bahungira muri Zayire ahitwa i Rucuro. Bamaze kugerayo, *Colonel* Simba Aloys yabasanzeyo ashaka kubagarura ku gahato, ntibyashoboka. Nyuma yize amayeri yo kuzana uburozi ashaka kubushyira mu biryo abasirikare ba Kongo bahaga impunzi, kubwo amahirwe umwe mu basirikare ba Kongo ababuza kubirya, ntihagira upfa. Abatutsi barokotse ubwicanyi bwo ku ya 27 Mutarama 1991, bavuga ko bahunze ari benshi, bamwe banyura mu birunga ariko ntibyabakundira kuko bahise bagarurwa n'abasirikare ba FAR, baza kubica. Abarokotse nibo babashije kugera i Rucuro muri Zayire[115].

115 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MPETA Ennias mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Mu mpera za Mutarama 1991, Abatutsi benshi barishwe, abatarahunze bishwe mu mwaka wa 1992. Benshi bishwe urw'agashinyaguro. Ubwo bicaga Abatutsi bo muri Komini Kingi bamwe babashyize mu misarani ari bazima harimo uwitwa Kayuki, bataye mu musarane ari muzima arara aboroga aza guhuhurwa n'umupolisi wa Komini. Abandi bishwe urwagashyinyaguro ni uwitwa Libona n'umuhungu we witwaga Sebarashona. Bakimara gufata Libona, bafashe ibuye rinini barimushyira mu kanwa, bakagenda barisunika kugeza ubwo mu misaya havamo amaraso, aza gupfa.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi, abagabo nibo batangiye bibasirwa cyane ubwo hicwaga Abatutsi mu 1991 na 1992. Abagore batangiye kwicwa nyuma y'aho abicanyi batakibona uwitwa igitsina gabo. Kugeza muri Mata 1994, Abatutsi benshi mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi bari baramaze kwicwa. Abatarishwe ni ababashije guhungira muri Zayire na Uganda.

2.1.1.4. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe**,** Abatutsi batangiye gufungwa guhera ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Hafashwe Abatutsi bajijutse n'undi wese wagaragaraga ko yishoboye. Mu bafashwe bagafungwa harimo Bizimana Antoine, Ndori Jean Damascène, Ntazinda, Umwarimu bitaga Nsengiyumva Tito, Kanamugire n'umuryango we (umugore we witwaga Marie, abana babo, Damascène na Peke), Munyandamutsa Musa, Ndaruhutse Djumaine, Mukarugwiza Marie Gorette, Rufinire, Nubaha Jean Bosco, Nsengiyumva Abdu alias Gitenge, Nkota Léopold, Shabani Afrika, Nyandwi Bikiramariya n'abandi.

Muri Segiteri Muhoza hafashwe kandi Nyirasikubwabo Tasiyana wavutse 1965, mwene Sebatunzi Paul na Nyiramyavu Léoncie, yafashwe mu 1990, afungirwa kuri *brigade*, yishwe muri 1991; Muhongayire Kayitesi Epiphanie wavutse 1956, mwene Ndanguza

Léopold na Nyiramanegurwa Costasie, yafashwe mu 1990, afungirwa gereza ya Ruhengeri; Mukera Alexis, yafashwe muri 1990 afungirwa gereza ya Ruhengeri; Gitoki wavutse mu 1965, mwene Rwamironko na Mukanzigiye, yafashwe mu 1990 afungirwa gereza ya Ruhengeri, yishwe 1990; Munyandekwe wavutse 1960, yafashwe muri 1990, afungirwa gereza ya Ruhengeri, yishwe 1990; Nsengiyumva Tito, yafashwe mu 1990, afungirwa gereza ya Ruhengeri, yishwe 1991; Nkusi Martin, yafashwe mu 1990, afungirwa gereza ya Ruhengeri, yishwe 1991[116].

Muri Segiteri Kabaya hafashwe Madamu Kayinamura Goreti mwene Kayinamura Benjamin na Léocadie yafatiwe muri Komini Kigombe mu 1991 ajya gufungirwa muri Gereza ya Ruhengeri, arekurwa mu 1991; Uwihoreye Charles yafashwe mu 1992, afatirwa Kigombe, afungirwa i Kigali; Munyagatanga wavutse mu 1952, mwene Rwajekare na Kakuze, yafashwe mu 1990 afungirwa i Kigali; Hakizimana Déogratias wavutse mu 1971, mwene Mugarukira Appolinaire, na Matindi Laurence wafatiwe Nyakinama mu 1994, ahita yicwa; Kanamugire Dominique wafatiwe Kigombe mu 1990 ; Josephine yafatiwe Kigombe mu 1992, afungirwa muri Gereza ya Ruhengeri, afungurwa mu 1992[117].

Usibye gufungwa babeshyerwa ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, hari n'abahise bicwa barimo Bizimana wishwe avuye kugemurira umuvandimwe wari wafashwe afungwa mu biswe ibyitso ; hishwe kandi Ntazinda, wari ufungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri. Hari n'abandi bishwe n'ubuyobozi bwa gereza, nk'uwitwa Rusatira Fupi warashwe na diregiteri wa Gereza ya Ruhengeri, Sukiranya[118].

116 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muhoza, akagari ka Rukoro.

117 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Kabaya, Akagari ka Kabatembagara.

118 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GAFEBU Pierre Claver mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Abatutsi benshi bishwe mu buryo bwo kubanyereza, kugeza ubwo imirambo y'abishwe igiye itoragurwa ahantu hatandukanye mu mujyi wa Ruhengeri. Kugira ngo imirambo y'Abatutsi bishwe ivanwe mu mujyi, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe, Maniragaba Fabien bitaga Kadasokoza afatanije na ba Konseye ba za Segiteri, mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1991, bahamagaje abaturage babategeka gukora isuku mu mujyi hose, kugira ngo bavaneho imirambo yari yandagaye hirya no hino. Gusa hari abandi Batutsi benshi bicwaga bakabajugunya mu misarani kugira ngo hatazagira ubimenya[119].

Mu 1992, Abatutsi bo muri Segiteri za Komini Kigombe ihanye imbibi na Komini Mukingo barasenyewe, imyaka yabo irasahurwa, bahitamo guhungira kuri Paruwasi ya Busogo, bakirwa n'Ababikira b'Abasuwisi bahabaga. Ibi byakomye mu nkokora Interahamwe ariko ntibyababuza gukomeza kubakurikirana, kubera ko Interahamwe zivuye muri Komini Kinigi na Gatagara zabasangaga aho bahungiye zikabatera amabuye ku manywa y'ihangu. Ibi byaje gutuma ababikira bitabaza Musenyeri wayoboraga Diyosezi ya Ruhengeri: Musenyeri Phocas Nikwigize bamusaba ko yabafasha kubahungisha. Nibwo baje guhungira muri Kaminuza ya ISAE-Busogo. Nyuma y'iminsi micye, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, Kajelijeli yaje kuhabasanga, abakoresha inama ababwira ko aho bari ari ikigo cy'amashuri cyateganyirijwe kwigiramo atari aho guhungira. Byabaye ngombwa ko basubira mu matongo yabo, ababikira babashakira amahema yo kubamo. Twakwibutsa ko abenshi b'igitsina gabo bari baramaze kwicwa, abahungiye muri ayo mashuri bari ab'igitsina gore[120].

119 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BATAMURIZA Mwamini mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

120 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'abatangabuhamya KAYITESI Chantal na KAVUMU Siméon mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

2.1.1.5. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama**,** Abatutsi bagaragaraga ko bize cyangwa bifashije barafashwe barafungwa bababeshyera kuba ibyitso by'Inkotanyi bahereye ku Batutsi bigishaga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Abarimu bigishaga muri iyo Kaminuza barafashwe barafungwa, abenshi bakaba barafungiwe muri gereza ya Ruhengeri, kubwo amahirwe bafungurwa n'Inkotanyi ubwo zafunguraga imfungwa n'abagororwa bari bafungiye muri iyo gereza. Mu barimu bari bafungiwe muri gereza ya Ruhengeri bafunguwe n'Inkotanyi, harimo: Professeur Frère Ndayambaje Jean Damascène, Professeur Nkusi Laurent n'abandi.

Mu ibaruwa n° 0016/04.09.01/16 yo kuwa 30/9/1991, Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Dr Nzabagerageza Charles, yandikiye Minisitiri w'Umutekano n'Amajyambere ya Komini, amugezaho inyandikomvugo y'inama y'Umutekano ku rwego rwa Perefegitura, yamubwiye ko basuzumye ibibazo byagaragaraga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama n'uko amasomo yatangira. Nk'uko bigaragara muri iyo nyandikomvugo, hanzuwe ko Professeur Frère Ndayambaje Jean Damascène wafunzwe kubera gukorana n'Inkotanyi akaza gufungurwa nazo ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991, atagomba kwemererwa kwigisha muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama ngo kuko hari ibimenyetso simusiga bigaragaza uruhare rwe mu gukorana n'Inkotanyi. Naho Professeur Nkusi Laurent nawe wafunzwe bamushinja gukorana n'Inkotanyi, akava muri gereza kuya 23 Mutarama 1991, Komisiyo yo kujonjora yasanze ntabimenyetso bimuhama[121]. Inama yafatiwemo iyo myanzuro yarimo abayobozi bakurikira:

- Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles: Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, akaba n'umuyobozi w'inama;

121 Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Ibaruwa n° 0016/04.09.01/16 yo kuwa 30/09/1991 Perefe Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles yandikiye Ministri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini.

- Kayitani Gaétan: Superefe ushinzwe ubutegetsi n'amategeko, umwanditsi w'inama;
- Ntagandamwabo Félicien: Superefe;
- Ntarwanda Céléstin: Superefe;
- Semasaka Faustin: Superefe wa Kirambo;
- Nzanana Dismas: Superefe wa Busengo;
- *Lieutenant Colonel* BEM Bizimungu Augustin: *Commandant OPS* Ruhengeri;
- Munyangoga Eugène*: SRP Sortant*;
- Mulinda Thomas: *SRP entrant;*
- Barengayabo Francois: *Vice Président wa cour d'Appel;*
- Mutemberezi André: *Substitut du Procureur;*
- Bihira Alphonse: *Juge au Tribunal de 1ère Instance;*
- Rwagasana Anatole: *Vice Recteur UNR, Campus Nyakinama;*
- Murego Alphonse: *Segeral Adjoint, a.i UNR, Campus Nyakinama;*
- Hakizimana Jean Baptiste: *Responsable du CRI Ruhengeri;*
- Maniragaba Fabien: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe;
- Nkurunziza Leonadis: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama;
- Bagulijoro Leodomir: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamutera;
- Kajelijeli Juvénal: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo.[122]

122 Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Ibaruwa nº 0016/04.09.01/16 yo kuwa 30/09/1991 Perefe Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles, yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini.

Uretse Abatutsi bafashwe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, hirya no hino muri Segiteri za Komini Nyamutera barafashwe barafungwa. Hafashwe Senzira Phocas mwene Kamenyero na Nyirabarisebya, Ntakamara mwene Mbwirane na Kayuzi, Ntahuturi mwene Nyamwema na Baragomanwa, Ntaganda mwene Nyirabarabona bari batuye mu yahoze ari Segiteri ya Kitabura. Mu yahoze ari Segiteri ya Nkotsi, hafashwe Kanakuze, Bazimboze Rusiya, Jani Shadaraki, Mutsobe Genevieve, Mukayiranga Charlotte, Ntamahungiro, Mfatanijenimana Théogène n'abandi. Mu yahoze ari Rubona hafashwe kandi Rusake mwene Birongorotsi na Mukangumije hamwe na Nzabarinda mwene Kamegeri na Nyirandagabanye.

2.1.1.6. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba**,** nyuma y'aho urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rutangiye ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ba Konseye bakoresheje inama abaturage bababwira ko Igihugu cyatewe n'umwanzi ko bagomba kuba maso kandi ko bagomba kugenzura Abatutsi mu byo bakora byose. Mu matariki abanza y'ukwezi k'Ugushingo, Konseye wa Segiteri ya Rutamba, Habufite Jonathan, yahamagaje abaturage ababwira ko bagomba kuba maso, hakajyaho amarondo no gusaka ingo z'Abatutsi, bagashyikiriza ubuyobozi uwo babona ko akorana n'umwanzi.

Ni muri urwo rwego Abatutsi benshi bafashwe barafungwa, baratotezwa no kwicwa bababeshyera ko bari bacumbikiye Inkotanyi[123].

Mu bafunzwe bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi harimo : Kaniziyo Serinda wari umuganga, Sezane wari ufite umugore ukomoka muri Uganda, Kagwiza, Sekabera, Rwangarinde wo muri Segiteri ya Gahunga n'abandi. Abatarafunzwe bahoraga batotezwa harimo Nyirabari Gatarina, Sebuhinja n'abandi[124].

123 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDANGUZA François mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

124 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NKIRANUYE Jean Damascène mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Abaturage b'Abahutu bari barashakanye n'Abatutsikazi nabo baratotezwaga, ndetse bakabategeka kwitandukanya n'abagore babo. Umwe mu batangabuhamya wo muri Komini Nkumba wari ufite umubyeyi w'Umututsikazi avuga ko Konseye wa Segiteri ya Gahunga yahoraga abatoteza, abategeka kwirukana nyina w'Umututsikazi. Yaje kubamenesha bahungira muri Komini Ruhondo. Bageze muri Komini Ruhondo, nabwo yabasanzeyo abwira Burugumesitiri wa Komini ko bakorana n'Inkotanyi. Iminsi yose bahoraga bashaka kwica umubyeyi we kubera ko ari Umututsikazi[125].

Gutoteza Abatutsi no kubagirira nabi byababaga bishyigikiwe n'abayobozi batandukanye bo mu nzego za gisivili n'iza gisirikare. Umutangabuhamya wari Resiponsabule wa Serire Nkwana, Segiteri ya Kinoni, Komini Nkumba, abisobanura mu magambo akurikira:

> Nyuma y'iminsi mike urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rutangiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba, Matemane Faustin yakoreshe inama abwira abaturage kuba maso bakarwanya umwanzi, ariwe Umututsi.
>
> Yasabye ba *Resiponsabules* na ba Konseye gushyira bariyeri ahantu hose bacyeka umwanzi yanyura. Muri iyo nama uwitwa Bazira Pierre Célestin, umukozi wa Komini Nkumba, yashimangiye cyane ko bagomba gusaka ingo z'Abatutsi, avuga ko hari imbunda Inkotanyi zazanye murugo rw'Umututsi witwa Serinda Kaniziyo wari umuganga kuri *centre de santé* ya Kinoni. Abashyinzwe umutekano baje kureba niba koko acumbikiye Inkotanyi, basanga ntazihari, gusa ntibyababujije kumufunga, bamubeshyera ko ari icyitso cy' inkotanyi[126].

125 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MINANI François mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

126 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUNYANGANIZI Martin mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Gutoteza Abatutsi byagendanaga no kubica ku mugaragaro, kugira ngo abaturage basanzwe bumve ko Umututsi cyangwa undi muntu wese udashyigikiye ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana agomba kwicwa. Aha twavuga umugabo witwa Serugari wo muri Segiteri ya Gitinda, Komini Nkumba wazanywe n'abasirikare bayobowe na *Major* Muvunyi Tharcisse bitaga Gafuni, bamutegeka kujya mu cyobo bari bacukuye, umwe mu basirikare bari kumwe na Muvunyi amurasiramo, apfa atyo. Yishwe mu 1991 bamubeshyera ko ari icyitso cy'Inkotanyi[127].

2.1.1.7. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kidaho

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kidaho, gufunga no gutoteza Abatutsi byabaye guhera tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Mu bafashwe mu byitso harimo: Kanyamibwa Charles n'umugore we witwa Mukagoboka Anne Marie, Aaron n'umugore we Musengimana Appolonie n'abandi[128].

Umutangabuhamya wo muri Segiteri ya Kidaho, Komini Kidaho, avuga ko nyuma y'aho Inkotanyi zitangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu, we n'umugabo we witwa Gakenyeri Bernard, batotejwe mu buryo bukomeye, bahungira muri Komini Ruhondo. Gakenyeri Bernard yaje gufungwa bamubeshyera ko ari icyitso cy' Inkotanyi, nyuma aza no kwicwa[129].

Gakenyeri Bernard yabaye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kidaho kuva 1973 kugeza 1981. Yasimbuwe na Burugumesitiri Ntahompagaze Jean Bosco wagejeje 1994[130].

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127 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SIBOMANA Samuel mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

128 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMFIZI Astérie mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

129 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NKIRANUYE Jean Damascène mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

130 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NIYONSABA Fabien mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

2.1.1.8. Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, nyuma y'uko RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu habayeho imyigaragambyo ku itariki ya 2 Ukwakira 1990, imirimo yose irahagarara, amashuri arafungwa, abaturage bakwira imihanda bamagana FPR-Inkotanyi. Muri iyo myigaragambyo bibasiye Abatutsi, uwo babonye bakamukubita bavuga ko akorana n'Inkotanyi. Byaje gukomera ubwo bajyaga mu gikorwa cyo guhamba imitumba bavuga ngo bagiye guhamba Fred Rwigema. Abaturage bo muri Komini Gatonde bahuriye ahitwa mu bigabiro, buri Segiteri yazanaga igishushanyo gisimbura Rwigema, nyuma bakerekeza aho bajya gushyingura imitumba bavuga ko ari Rwigema.

Nyuma yo guhamba imitumba biraye mu Batutsi barabatoteza, bamwe barafungwa abandi baburirwa irengero. Mu bafunzwe, harimo Batsinda Valens, Barihenura Joseph, Mpendwanzi Joseph, Barinyenzi, Kimuna John wari utuye muri Serire Rutabu, we bamushinje ko ajya i Bugande, ko akorana n'inyenzi[131].

Uwitwa Ngirabatware bitaga Kimuna wari umwarimu bamuteze avuye kwigisha ku mashuri y'ahitwa Cyibumba hafi yo mu Kiziba, baramwica, bamubeshyera ko akorana n'Inkotanyi. Bamaze kumwica, umurambo we bawujugunye munsi y'umukingo[132].

2.1.1.9. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu, kwibasira Abatutsi babafunga naho byahereye ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Gufunga Abatutsi byajyanaga no gukorerwa ibikorwa by'urugomo.

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131 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSENGIMANA Alfred mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

132 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya AKIMANA Salama mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Abatutsi benshi baratotejwe, barakubitwa, ibyabo biranyagwa. Babujijwe amahoro, birirwaga bahigwa ngo batunze imbunda, ko bakorana n'inyenzi n'ibindi. Mu bafunzwe harimo Busezera Théoneste, Nemeye, Kanani, Gasasira n'abandi.

Abatangabuhamya twaganiriye nabo batubwiye ko mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu, hashyizweho bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye, cyane cyane mu muhanda wa Kaburimbo, ahitwa mu kivuruga, n'ahandi. Izi bariyeri zikaba zariciweho Abatutsi benshi babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Ahitwa muri Bwishya naho hiciwe Abatutsi benshi barimo Ruzindana, Rufari na Rukazihogo[133].

Gutoteza Abatutsi byakozwe na none umunsi bahambaga imitumba bayitirira Fred Rwigema wari waguye ku rugamba. Nyuma y'iminsi mike bafashe imitumba bayihekesha Abatutsi bajya kuyishyingura; uko bashyinguraga imitumba niko babaga bashinyagurira Abatutsi babasaba kuririmba indirimbo zivuga ibigwi by'ingabo za FAR[134].

Undi mutangabuhamya wahekeshejwe umutumba asobanura akaga bahuye nako muri aya magambo:

> Umunsi bavuga ko Rwigema yaguye ku rugamba twaratotejwe cyane. Iminsi yakurikiyeho, bahamagaje abaturage bose, Abahutu n'Abatutsi ngo tugiye guhamba Rwigema, ariko noneho Abatutsi aba aribo bikoreza imitumba. Twikoreye iyo mitumba tugenda turirimba indirimbo zivuga ibigwi by'ingabo za FAR. Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe, yafashe ijambo avuga ko Inyenzi zari zigererejeho, ko nihagira iyongera bizatugwa nabi[135].

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133 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGIRABANYIGINYA Casmir mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

134 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAHIRO Vincent mu Karere ka Gakenke, Gashyantare 2017

135 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMUSONI Espérance mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Iteka gutoteza Abatutsi byajyanaga no kubica kandi bigakorwa n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano hamwe n'inzego z'ibanze. Umutangabuhamya wari Resiponsabule wa Serire ya Gafumba, Segiteri ya Rugarama, Komini Nkumba asobanura ko :

> Igihe umujyi wa Ruhengeri waterwaga n'Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991, kubera ipfunwe, ingabo za FAR zihimuriye ku basivili b'Abatutsi. Ni muri urwo rwego *Major* Muvunyi Tharcisse bitaga Gafuni yagiye mu Rugarama abaturage bamuzanira abo yitaga ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, bamaze kubamugezaho abategeka kwicukurira, barangije ategeka bamwe mu baturage bari aho kubakubita udufuni, bahita babaroha muri icyo cyobo[136].

Abatutsi batotezwaga kandi n'abaturage basanzwe. Nk'uko abatangabuhamya babigarukaho, wagira ngo abaturage bari bafite uburengenzira bwo guhohotera no kwica Abatutsi batifuza. Abatutsi bajyanwaga ku irondo abenshi bakicirwayo. Hari n'abandi Batutsi baburiwe irengero kuko abayobozi cyangwa abasirikare bazaga kubafata, babajyana ntibongere kugaruka.

2.1.1.10. Mu makomini ya Ndusu, Cyabingo, Cyeru, Ruhondo, Nyamugari, Nyamutera na Butaro

Mu makomini ya Ndusu, Cyabingo, Cyeru, Ruhondo, Nyamugari, Nyamutera na Butaro, ba Burugumesitiri cyangwa Konseye bafataga Abatutsi bakabafungira muri za *Cachot* za Komini, abo babona ari ngombwa bakabohereza muri parike. Aha twatanga urugero rw'ibyasabwe na Superefe mu ibaruwa n^{o} 169/04.05.3 yo kuwa 21 Gicurasi 1992, aho Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Kirambo, Semasaka Faustin, yandikiye *Substitut* wa Porokireri wa Repubulika uyobora pariki ya Kirambo, amusaba gukurikirana

136 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDANGUZA François mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

uwitwa Bizimana Andereya ngo kubera ko akunda kujya mu Karere kaberamo imirwano kandi akagenda nijoro, amumenyesha na none ko Bizimana afungiye muri kasho (cachot) ya Komini Cyeru.

Muri rusange, abayobozi batandukanye bagize uruhare mu ifatwa n'ifungwa ry'abo bitaga ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Tariki 4 Mata 1991, Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles yandikiye ba Burugumesitiri ba Komini Cyeru, Cyabingo, Nyakinama na Nyarutovu, abagezaho amazina y'abo yise ibyitso by'Inkotanyi, abasaba gushakisha amakuru ahagije yazifashishwa kugira ngo bakurikiranwe n'ubutabera. Abo ni:

1. Bitendo Tite, mwene Bigirintwari na Bayihorere wakomokaga muri Segiteri Kamubuga, Komini Cyeru;
2. Mbonigaba Boniface mwene Biraro na Nyirambabazi wakomokaga muri Segiteri Kamubuga, Komini Cyeru ;
3. Nziraguseswa Phocas mwene Ndeze na Nyirarushana wakomokaga muri Segiteri Rugimbu, Komini Cyabingo;
4. Sikubwabo mwene Nsigayehe na Nzagezahe wakomokaga muri Segiteri Kabere II, Komini Nyakinama;
5. Kabalira mwene Munanira na Nyirahumure wakomokaga muri Segiteri Kinyoma, Komini Nyarutovu[137].

Abatutsi benshi bagiye bafungwa bigizwemo uruhare n'abayobozi batandukanye, bamwe bagafungirwa muri kasho za Komini abandi bakajya kubafungira muri gereza ya Ruhengeri.

Mu bari bafungiwe muri gereza ya Ruhengeri benshi muribo bafunguwe n'ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi ubwo zafunguraga gereza ya Ruhengeri ku ya 23 Mutarama 1991. Muri abo hari uwitwa Gafebu Pierre Claver ugaragara mu ibaruwa Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

137 Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Ibaruwa no 412/04.09.01 yo kuwa 04 Mata 1991 yanditswe na Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles

amugezaho amazina y'abo yise ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. We n'abandi batandukanye twaganiriye bari bafungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri, bagarutse ku buzima bugoye babayemo ubwo bari bafungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri, ndetse ko hari benshi biciwe muri gereza, ariko kubwo amahirwe bo baje kurokorwa n'ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi ubwo zafunguraga gereza ya Ruhengeri.

Twavuga ko mu makomini yose yari agize Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Abatutsi batotejwe, bagafungwa bababeshyera ko ari ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Nk'uko byemejwe na Raporo Mpuzamahanga ku burenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda (International report on Human Rights violation in Rwanda, 7-21 Janvier 1993), mu kwezi k'ukwakira hafashwe hanafungwa Abatutsi benshi babita inyangarwanda, ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Iyo raporo ikomeza igaragaza ko tariki 12 Ukwakira 1990, Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal yatumije abaturage bose mu muganda, maze abwira abaturage bitabiriye umuganda kurya inka z'Abatutsi z'abitwa Mukecuru na Akobasingiza[138].

2.1.2. Kunyaga Abatutsi imitungo yabo bababeshyera gukorana na FPR-Inkotanyi

Gutoteza Abatutsi byajyanaga no kubambura ibyabo ntibagire aho barega ababahohoteye. Kuva 1959, Abatutsi banyazwe ibyabo, bigeze muri 1990 nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu, birushaho kuba bibi cyane. Abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze n'abashinzwe umutekano bazaga mu rugo rw'Umututsi wishoboye, ikintu cy'agaciro bahasanze bakagitwara. Imirima y'Abatutsi yigaruriwe na bamwe mu baturanyi babo, bakabategeka kuyibagurisha ku mafaranga make. Hari n'aho bategekaga Abatutsi kuva mu mirima yabo, igatwarwa n'abitwaga abakode. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko gutwara amatungo y'Abatutsi cyangwa imirima yabo,

138 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993, p.19

byakorwaga mu duce dutandukanye, bigakorwa na ba Konseye ndetse na ba *membres* ba Serire. Nta Mututsi wabashaga gukurikirana ibye cyangwa ngo arege abamuhohoteye. Umwe mu batangabuhamya asobanura ko :

> Mu gace ka Kinigi, gutwara amatungo, imyaka cyangwa imirima y'Abatutsi byakorwaga n'abayobozi batandukanye. Hari n'aho byageraga umukode akambura Umututsi isambu ye kuko yabaga ashyigikiwe n'ubuyobozi, azi ko Umututsi adafite aho yajya kumurega[139].

Umutangabuhamya wari utuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba, Segiteri ya Gahunga asobanura kandi uburyo aba Serire bazaga kunywa ikigage iwe, barangiza bakagenda batishyuye. Umunsi umwe ubwo yabazaga uwitwa Kabirigi impamvu batamwishyura, yamusubije amubwira ko imitungo Abatutsi bafite ari iy'Abahutu ko ahubwo arebye nabi na duke bamusigiraga natwo badutwara[140].

Undi mutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Nkumba, yakomeje asobanura akarengane bakorerwaga:

> Inkotanyi zimaze gutera, twaratotejwe cyane. AbaSerire bazaga iwanjye bagatwara ibyo bashaka, banywaga inzoga nacuruzaga barangiza bakambwira ngo nkwiriye kumenya ko ibyo mfite mu nzu atari ibyacu, bakanywa bakagenda batishyuye. Iyo najyaga kubarega kuri Konseye wa Segiteri, yarambwiraga ngo ndi icyitso cy'Inkotanyi, ngo ahubwo nagize Imana ntibankubita. Muri Mutarama 1991, abasirikare ba FAR batwaye umugabo wanjye witwa Munyembanza

139 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jérome mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

140 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NYIRABARI Catherine mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

> Boniface, kuva icyo gihe ntabwo twongeye kumubona, bahise bamwica[141].

Habayeho kandi kubuza Abatutsi kugurisha imitungo yabo. Abatutsi benshi barakomanyirijwe, bavutswa uburenganzira ku byabo, kugeza ubwo batari bemerewe kugira icyo bagurisha ngo bakemure ibibazo bafite.

Nko mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gasana Thadée, yakoresheje inama mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1991, atanga amabwiriza ko nta Mututsi ugomba kugurisha ikintu cye kuko ngo amafaranga bagurishije bayohererereza inkotanyi, abuza n'abayobozi kutabasinyira kandi ko uzarenga kuri ayo mabwiriza azabihanirwa. Kuva icyo gihe nta Mututsi wongeye kugira icyo agurisha haba no kwatisha igisinde. Umwe mu batangabuhamya utarahigwaga, wari Resiponsabule wa Serire Kidendezi yakomeje gusobanura uko byari biteye:

> Abakecuru babiri b'Abatutsikazi baje kuntakambira bambwira ko inzara igiye kubica ko bashaka kugurisha igisinde. Ndebye akababaro kabo, narabasinyiye bagurisha igisinde cy'uturima twabo.
>
> Nyuma Burugumesitiri yaje kubimenya, antumaho, nageze kuri Komini mu gihe ntarabonana nawe, abwira abapolisi ba Komini ko bamfata bakamfunga. Narafunzwe, nyuma y'iminsi mike nzagutanga amafaranga barandekura[142].

141 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NYIRABARI Catherine mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

142 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDIBABAJE Assiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

2.1.3. Kwica Abatutsi binyuze mu gukora amarondo

Guhera ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, hashyizweho bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, hashyirwaho gahunda yo gukora amarondo. Nubwo amarondo yashyizweho mu rwego rwo kugira ngo abaturage birindire umutekano, Abatutsi bo bahuye n'akaga gakomeye, kuko uwajyaga ku irondo bamwiciragayo. Byageze aho Abatutsi bajya batanga amafaranga menshi yo kwigura ngo batajya gukora irondo.

Umutangabuhamya utarahigwaga wo muri Komini ya Nkuli avuga ko ba Resiponsabule ba Serire aribo bahatiraga Abatutsi kujya ku irondo, kugira ngo babone uko babica. Uyu mutangabuhamya asobanura ko:

> Konseye wa Segiteri ya Mukamira, Kabutura Anasthase yadusabye gushyiraho amarondo yo gukumira ibiri kubera mu birunga ngo bitazagera aho dutuye. Muri ayo marondo bajyaga batwara Abatutsi b'abasore n'abagabo ngo bajye ku marondo ntibagaruke. Mu batwawe harimo Bundugu, Joel Kanyeshuri, Haleluya, Havugimana, n'abandi, babatwaye ku irondo bicirwayo[143]. Kabutura Anasthase yafashe kandi Abatutsi barimo Rwabukamba, Kayobotsi na Kanyugunyugu abajyana ku irondo, babicirayo[144].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, ba *membres* ba Serire nibo bajyaga kuzana ku ngufu abasore cyangwa abagabo b'Abatutsi ngo bajye ku marondo:

143 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Musanze, Weurwe 2017

144 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SENYANA Gaétan mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

> Aba *membres* ba Serire, bajyaga mu ngo z'Abatutsi bagatwara ku irondo Abatutsi bakiri abasore n'abagabo bubatse. Iyo babagezagayo, barabakubitaga. Umunsi umwe bigeze gutwara umubyeyi wanjye, Rurinda Félicien, ageze aho bakoreraga irondo baramufata bamushyira mu ruziga hagati, umwe mu bari ku irondo amanika umupanga agiye kumutema, mugenzi we amufata akaboko, agira Imana ntiyamutema. Yatashye avuga ko kuba akirimo umwuka ari Imana yakinze akaboko[145].

2.1.4. Akarengane kagiriwe abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi nyuma y'igitero cyo kuya 8 Gashyantare 1993 mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe

Tariki 8 Gashyantare 1992, ingabo za RPF-INKOTANYI zagabye igitero simusiga mu duce dutandukanye tw'Igihugu nyuma yo kubona ko Leta ya Habyarimana ikajije umurego mu kwica Abatutsi. Icyo gitero cyari icyo guha gasopo Leta ya Habyarimana ndetse kikaba cyaratumye ubwicanyi buhagarara gato nubwo bwaje gukomeza. Nyuma y'icyo gitero, habayeho gutoteza bamwe mu Batutsi bo mu duce dutandukanye babarega ko babaye ibyitso by'Inkotanyi ubwo zagabaga igitero. Ni muri urwo rwego abanyeshuri bo mu kigo cya *Lycée Catholique Saint Alain* cya Mataba muri Komini Kigombe bashatse kubica, kubwo amahirwe bararokoka, ariko ibikoresho byabo bisahurwa na bagenzi babo bigizwemo uruhare n'umuyobozi w'icyo kigo witwa Kazanenda Juvénal.

Mu ibaruwa yo kuwa 30 Kamena 1993 abanyeshuri bandikiye ubuyobozi bw'ikigo bagaragaza akarengane bakorewe na Kazanenda Juvénal, bagaragaje ko yashatse kubivugana mu ijoro ryo kuya 10 rishyira tariki 11 Gashyantare 1993, abifashijwemo

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145 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKANKUSI Dorothée mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

n'uwari ushinzwe umurimo w'ubu *animateur*, Hagumakwiha Laurent, wakwirakwije umwuka mubi ugamije kwangisha Abatutsi bagenzi babo b'Abahutu ndetse bababeshyera kuba barabaye ibyitso by'Inkotanyi ubwo zagabaga igitero ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993.

Nk'uko abo banyeshuri bavuga muri iyo baruwa, abanyeshuri bagenzi babo b'Abahutu barabagose, bitwaje amahiri, imipanga, amacumu n'inkoni, kubwo amahirwe baza kurokoka. Bandikiye ubuyobozi babusaba ko babaha ibikoresho byabo basize kuri icyo kigo, dore ko batongeye kwiga kuri icyo kigo. Abanyeshuri banditse iyo baruwa ni Mukakagina Christine, Kayitesi Théa, Mukakimenyi Madeleine, Uwamahoro Brigitte, Uwisoni Odette, Nyirasoni Brigitte, Umutoni Assouma, Uwanyirigira M. Jonnhive, Nyiranzabahimana Donathila, Murorunkwere Saphina, Mukarugina Colette, Faida Justine na Uwiragiye Brigitte[146].

2.2 Ubwicanyi bweruye bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993 mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Nyuma yaho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu mu Kwakira 1990, Abatutsi bo mu makomini atandukanye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri baratotejwe bikaje, abandi bicwa rugikubita. Ubwicanyi mu buryo bweruye bwatangiye nyuma yaho ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi zigabye igitero mu mugi wa Ruhengeri ku itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991. Guhera ubwo, ubwicanyi buteguwe bwahise butangira, bukaba bwaribasiye cyane cyane Abatutsi b'Abagogwe bari batuye muri Komini Nkuli, Mukingo na Kinigi.

146 MINEPRISEC, ACEDI-MATABA. Ibaruwa yo kuwa 30/6/1993 yanditswe n'abanyeshuri barenganijwe n'uwari Umuyobozi w'Ikigo cya *Lycée Catholique Saint Alain Marie*, Kazanenda Juvénal, Komini Kigombe.

2.2.1. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, kwica Abatutsi mu buryo bweruye byabaye mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1991 no muri Gashyantare 1991. Umutangabuhamya warokotse ubwicanyi muri icyo gihe asobanura uko byagenze:

> Bigeze mu matariki ya nyuma y'ukwezi kwa Mutarama, hagati ya 25-29 Mutarama 1991, haje igitero kirimo abaturage basanzwe n'abasikire, bahita bica umubyeyi wanjye (papa) Binyavanga Assiel. Mu bandi bishwe harimo Mukarukeba Annonciate n'umwana we w'imyaka 2, umwarimu witwa Sebarara, Kamali, Aleluya Wilson, Gafuranendi, Joel, Pasteur Gashashari. Hari n'abaroshywe mu mazi, bose bishwe n'abaturage basanzwe, barimo Rwakibibi, ni nawe watanze itegeko ngo badufate ku ngufu. Muri ubwo bwicanyi, harimo Konseye Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka, Claude, Seburigeri mwene Bajaja wo muri Segiteri ya Jenda n'abandi[147].

Ubwicanyi bwarakomeje, bigeze ku itariki 4 Gashyantare 1991, habaho kwica mu buryo bukomeye, kuko abasirikare bafatanyije n'abaturage basanzwe, habaho guhiga Abatutsi mu mashyamba no mu bihuru. Kuri iyo tariki, Abatutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli biciwe mu ngo zabo, abandi bicirwa aho bari bihishe, ndetse hari nabo bafataga bakajya kubicira ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga, abandi babaroha mu kiyaga cya Nyirakigugu. Mu baroshwe muri icyo kiyaga harimo Mukabutera Pauline n'umwana yari ahetse, Bakomeza, Donata, Nyiragasimbi Pascasie, Mukabutera n'abandi[148].

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147 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

148 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase na KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu Werurwe, Gashyantare 2017

Umutangabuhamya wiciwe umuryango we wose avuga kandi ko nyuma yaho Inkotanyi zitangirije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu, Abatutsi batuye mu gace kegeranye n'ibirunga bahuye n'ibibazo bikomeye. Ku itariki ya 4 Gashyantare 1991, abasirikare bafatanije n'abayobozi bo mu nzego z'ibanze za Komini Nkuli biraye mu Batutsi barabica. Umutangabuhamya avuga ko umuryango we ugizwe n'abantu batanu wose wishwe bawuroha mu kiyaga cya Nyirakigugu. Usibye umuryango we, hishwe n'abandi Batutsi benshi, barimo umuryango wa Sebuhiriri ugizwe n'abantu batandatu[149].

Hishwe Abatutsi benshi mu masegiteri atandukanye yari agize Komini ya Nkuli. Nko muri Segiteri ya Jenda yayoborwaga na Konseye Nyirakamanzi Phoibe, hishwe Abatutsi benshi barimo: Akumwami Enoki, Nyirarudodo Sara, Bujari, Kigingi, Mukeshimana n'abandi.

Mu bagize uruhare mu rupfu rw'abo Batutsi havugwa cyane cyane Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka, kuko amaze kuroha abishwe mu kiyaga cya Nyirakigugu, yakoresheje inama abwira abaturage ko nihagira ubabaza ibijyanye n'urupfu rw'abo Batutsi, bajye bavuga ko bishwe n'Inkotanyi.

Kwica Abatutsi byagendanaga no gufata ku ngufu abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi. Nk'uko bisobanurwa n'umwe mu babyiboneye:

> Bamfashe ndi kumwe n'umukobwa witwa Heleda wa Munyantarama batujyana kuri Komini Nkuli. Mbere yo kugera kuri Komini, umwe mu bari badutwaye witwa Mbaruhire yansabye indangamuntu, mu gihe ndimo nyishaka ngo nyimuhe, yahise ansunikira munsi y'umuhanda, abandi bari kumwe nawe barimo Kanuma, Macinya na Gahara bafata Heleda bamuryamisha hasi batangira kumusambanya. Barangije kumusambanya

149 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> bamusubije inyuma bamujyana kwa Konseye Nyirakamodoka, bamugejejeyo asa n'uwapfuye[150].

Muri Gashyantare 1991, usibye kwica Abatutsi, hari n'abiyahuye kubera kunanirwa kwakira ibyo babonaga, cyane cyane iyo umugabo yabonaga umugore we bamusambanya ku mugaragaro mu maso ye. Bamwe mu bagore b'Abatutsikazi bafashwe ku ngufu mu ruhame, bituma abagabo babo bananirwa kubyakira, bityo bahitamo kwiyahura harimo Rwamakambira wiyahuye nyuma y'uko umugore we afashwe ku ngufu, abicanyi bakaba barabikoze mu rwego rwo kumwereka ko nta jambo afite, ko bafite uburenganzira bwo kubagenza uko bashaka[151].

Mu bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Nkuli muri Mutarama na Gashyantare 1991 harimo *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin, *Colonel* Bivugabagabo, *Colonel* Setako Ephrem, *Major* Bizabarimana, *Lieutenant* Hasengineza Boniface na *brigadier* wa Komini Sebagabo, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli Mpiranya Mathias, Konseye wa Segiteri Mukamira Kabutura Anasthase, Konseye wa Segiteri Jenda Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka, Konseye wa Segiteri Kareba Bagirubwiko, abasirikare, abacuruzi barimo Havugimana Siméon, Buzayire, Maniraho Bernard, Kanuma n'abaturage basanzwe[152].

Abatutsi benshi bajyaga kwicirwa ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga. Raporo mpuzamahanga ijyanye n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa Muntu mu Rwanda yasohotse muri Werurwe 1993, igaragaza ko muri Komini Nkuli, ahitwa Nyaruhonga muri Segiteri ya Kareba, hari ibyobo basanzemo imibiri y'Abatutsi bishwe. Iyo

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150 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase na KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

151 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

152 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'abatangabuhamya JURU Anastase na SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Raporo ikomeza igaragaza ko Abatutsi bishwe mu duce twakorewemo igeragezа rya Jenoside nka Nkuli, Bigogwe na Kinigi, bagera kuri magana atatu (300). Icyakora raporo zitandukanaye zavugaga ko Abatutsi bishwe ari benshi bigoye kumenya umubare wabo, zikagaragaza ko abishwe bari hagati ya 500 ni 1000[153].

Ubuvumo bwa Nyaruhonga bwiciweho Abatutsi mu bihe bitandukanye. Hagati ya 1991 na 1993 ndetse no mu gihe cya Jenoside nyirizina mu 1994. Ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga hiciwe Abatutsi babaga bavanye mu makomini ya Nkuli, Karago, Kinigi, Mukingo na Kigombe. Bamwe bahazanwaga bishwe, abandi bakicwa bahageze. Abatutsi bishwe bazanwaga n'imodoka za Komini, imodoka y'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, imodoka y'uruganda rw'icyayi rwa Nyabihu, iz'abacuruzi, n'izindi. Iyo imodoka zazanaga imirambo y'Abatutsi bishwe, zabajugunyaga mu buvumo bunini buhari. Iyo bazanaga Abatutsi bakiri bazima, Interahamwe zahitaga zibicira ku munwa w'ubuvumo, zikoresheje amafuni cyangwa imihoro nyuma zikabajugunyamo. Abatutsi benshi bazanaga kuhicirwa ni abababaga bafatiwe kuri za bariyeri; bakaba barabajyanaga babashinyagurira ko babajyanye kwiga muri Kaminuza ya Makelele muri Uganda. Kuri ubu buvumo hakaba harahoraga Interahamwe zitahava zitegereje abari buhazanwe ari bazima ngo zibice.

2.2.2. Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Abatutsi benshi bishwe mu matariki akurikira ifatwa ry'umujyi wa Ruhengeri n'ingabo zari iza FPR-Inkotanyi kuwa 23 Mutarama 1991. Mu matariki ya 25 Mutarama 1991, ibitero biyobowe na Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli afatanyije n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano (abasirikare, abapolisi ba Komini, abagaride) n'abaturage basanzwe, biraye mu Batutsi babicisha intwaro za gakondo, imbunda na za grenades.

153 International report on Human Rights violation in Rwanda, January 7-21, 1993, p.17

Ku itariki ya 25 Mutarama 1991, Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal yohereje n'ímodoka ye abapolisi ba Komini n'abarinzi ba pariki y'ibirunga gufata Abatutsi b'Abagogwe, babazana ku biro bya Komini Mukingo. Nyuma yo kugezwa kuri Komini, bahise babicisha imbunda, imipanga n'amacumu ndetse habaho no gusambanya abagore b'Abatutsikazi mu maso y'abana babo[154]

Inama yateguye ubwo bwicanyi yabaye nyuma y'aho gereza ya Ruhengeri ifunguwe n'ingabo za RPA. Iyi nama ikaba yari yitabiriwe n'abayobozi batandukaye harimo Nzirorera Joseph wari Minisitiri w'ubucukuzi bw'amabuye y'agaciro, akaba yarakomokaga muri iyi Komini, Nzabagerageza Charles wabaye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kugera mu 1992, Côme Bizimungu wari Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi na Casimir Bizimungu wari Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga.[155]

2.2.3. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi, Abatutsi bishwe mu matariki ya 26-27 Mutarama 1991. Nk'uko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamya, Umututsi wa mbere yishwe ku itariki 26 Mutarama ubwo yari ahuye n'agatsiko k'abagore muri Bisate (ubu ni mu murenge wa Kinigi) bari bahunze kubera ibitero by'Inkotanyi. Umwe mu batangabuhamya agira ati :

> Uwitwa Bagayindiro Samuel yafunguwe kuwa 23 Mutarama 1991 ubwo Inkotanyi zafunguraga gereza ya Ruhengeri, yari yarafunzwe yitwa icyitso, yaratashye ageze iwe asanga ab'iwe bahunze, akurikira inzira banyuzemo. Kuwa 26 Mutarama, ageze muri Bisate ahura

154 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993, p.31

155 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993

> n'abagore bamwica bamuteye amabuye, bamubwira ngo 'izi nyenzi ni zo ziri kutubuza amahoro[156].

Abatutsi bishwe babakuye mu ngo zabo babakusanyiriza ahitwa kuri *Rond Point* hafi ya Komini ya Kinigi. Babanje kubakubita, bamaze kubagira intere, abasirikare barabarasa. Abagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri iyo Komini harimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini, Gasana Tadeyo, abasirikare n'abapolisi ba Komini.

Raporo mpuzamahanga ya komisiyo y'uburenganzira bwa Muntu igaragaza ko ku itariki ya 27 Mutarama 1991 nka saa cyenda z'amanywa, ba Konseye ba Komini bayobowe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinigi Gasana Tadeyo, bafashe Abatutsi b'Abagogwe babajyana hafi y'ibiro bya Komini, ahitwa « *rond point* » aba ariho babicira. Bicishijwe imipanga, amacumu, amabuye n'ibisuti by'imigano. Nyuma yaho, haje abasirikare, nabo bagenda barasa buri umwe wese kugira ngo hatagira urokoka. Abatutsi barenga mirongo itandatu bishwe kuri iyo tariki[157].

Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinigi, Gasana Tadeyo, afatanije n'abasirikare bakoze iyo bwababaga ngo barimbure, bamareho uwitwa Umututsi wese. Abagaride ba pariki nabo bagize uruhare mu kwica Abatutsi no kugarura Abatutsi bashakaga guhungira muri Zayire. Abo abagaridi bafataga bahitaga babica.

Diogène Bideri mu gitabo yanditse "*Le massacre des Bagogwe, Un prélude au génocide des Tutsi, Rwanda: 1990-1993*" avuga ko Komanda wa Jandarumeri ya Ruhengeri Nzapfakumunsi Jean Marie Vianney yagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bo muri Komini ya Kinigi na Mukingo. Abajandarume yayoboraga nibo bishe Abatutsi muri ayo makomini bitwaje ko barwanyaga

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156 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jérôme mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

157 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993, p.31

Inkotanyi, kandi ko Inkotanyi zabashije kugera mu mujyi wa Ruhengeri zibifashijwemo na bene wabo w'Abatutsi (Bideri 2009, p.65).

Raporo ya *Commission Internationale d'Énquete sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990* igaragaza ko uhereye mu Kwakira 1990, Abakonseye bakoresheje inama nyinshi zishishikariza urwango no kwica Abatutsi. Muri izo nama, nta Mututsi wari wemerewe kuzijyamo.[158]

Ba Konseye bafatanije na Burugumesitiri Gasana bavugwa muri raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yavuzwe haruguru barimo : Konseye wa Segiteri Gihora Ndagije; uwa Segiteri ya Kagano Matayo; uwa Segiteri ya Musanze Bizimana na Konseye wa Segiteri Nyarugina.

Muri Komini Kinigi, Abatutsi bongeye kwicwa ku itariki ya 28 Nyakanga 1991 nyuma yaho ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi zigabye igitero muri Segiteri Bisate zinyuze muri Segiteri Nyabisinde. Igihe cyose Inkotanyi zabaga zagabye igitero, Abatutsi batuye muri ako gace ndetse n'abahegereye baricwaga. Ni muri urwo rwego, abasirikare ba FAR bafatanije na bamwe mu baturage nka Munyandoha Mathias na Ndagijimana Jean Damascène, bagiye gufata abagabo b'Abatutsi batuye muri Segiteri ya Nyabisinde barabica. Ababashije kumenyekana bishwe kuri iyo tariki harimo Gashabuka, Kayijamahe, Hategekimana Michel, Rurangwa na Rwabukwisi[159].

Mu bandi bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Kinigi twavuga Munyakarambi wo muri Segiteri ya Nyarugina, Resiponsabule wa Serire Kidendezi Semibumbe, umugaridi wa

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158 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquêe sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993,p.32.

159 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Kinigi.

pariki witwa Tengura, Konseye wa Segiteri Kanyamiheto Kavarisi, Resiponsabule wa Serire Rwamahoro Kabuga n'abandi[160].

Mu yandi makomini atandukanye yari agize Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri naho Abatutsi barishwe nubwo bitari bimeze nko mu makomini yavuzwe haruguru.

2.2.4. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba

Muri Komini Nkumba Abatutsi barishwe bigizwemo uruhare n'uwari ukuriye ingabo muri ako gace, *Major* Muvunyi Tharcise. Kwica Abatutsi muri ako gace byashyizwemo imbaraga nyinshi nyuma yaho RPF-Inkotanyi ifunguye gereza ya Ruhengeri kuwa 21 Mutarama 1991. Nyuma y'iyo tariki, *Major* Muvunyi Tharcisse bitaga "Gafuni" yatangiye kwica Abatutsi, abaziza ko ari ibyitso by'inkotanyi. *Major* Muvunyi yatumaga abaturage kumuzanira Abatutsi abita ibyitso, bagera aho ari akabategeka kwicukurira, bagenda bigera mu mwobo, bamara gukwiramo neza akabicisha agafuni afatanyije n'abasirikare be hamwe na Nduwayezu Francois wari *Resiponsabule* wa Serire Serire Gafumba. Bakaba bariciwe mu Murenge wa Rugarama, Akagari ka Gafumba, Umudugudu wa Sasa. Uwo musilikare bari baramuhimbye iryo zina biturutse ko, ku itariki ya 23 Gashyantare 1991 hari Abatutsi yafashe abahamba bakirimo umwuka nyuma yo kubakubita agafuni, agira ngo nk'uko yabivugaga, abandi baturage barebereho urubategereje nibafatwa bakorana n'Inkotanyi. Aha muri Rugarama akaba ariho honyine mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba na Kidaho habarizwa urwibutso: *Urwibutso rwa Rugarama* ruruhukiyemo imibiri y'Abatutsi 16 bishwe mbere y'uko Jenoside nyir'izina itangira mu 1994. Uretse urwibutso rwa Rugarama, Abatutsi biciwe muri Burera bashyinguye kandi mu Rwibutso rwa Rusarabuye ruri mu murenge wa Rusarabuye.

160 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDIBABAJE Assiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

Ba Konseye ba za Segiteri nibo batungiraga agatoki abagize inzego z'umutekano, bakaza gutwara Abatutsi mu buryo bwo kubanyuruza *(kidnapping*).

Umutangabuhamya muri raporo ya *Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990*, avuga ko mbere y'uko ubwicanyi buba, perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Charles Nzabagerageza, yakoresheje inama mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1990. Iyo nama yitabiririwe n'abari bitwaje imipanga n'amacumu bazi ko bagomba kwica Abatutsi nk'uko byakozwe muri Komini Kibilira. Perefe Nzabagerageza yabwiye abaje mu nama ko baba basubije inkota mu rwubati, ko igihe cyo kwica Abatutsi nikigera, bazabimenyeshwa[161].

Nk'uko bigaragara muri raporo yavuzwe haruguru, abategetsi bakuru barimo Joseph Nzirorera (Minisitiri wa Mine n'ubukorikori), Charles Nzabagerageza (Perefe wa Ruhengeri), Come Bizimungu (Perefe wa Gisenyi), Casimir Bizimungu (Minisitri w'ububanyi n'amahanga), Protais Zigiranyirazo (muramu wa Habyarimana) bakoze inama bemeza ko bagomba kwica Abagogwe.

Iyo raporo ikomeza igaragaza ko kwica Abagogwe byari bishyigikiwe na Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, umugore we na *Colonel* Sagatwa (muramu wa Perezida Habyarimana). *Colonel* Sagatwa akaba ariwe watanze igitekerezo cyo kwica Abagogwe, byemezwa na Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal. Uruhare rwa perefe Nzabagerageza Charles na Come Bizimungu kwari ugushaka ba Burugumesitiri bakabagezaho uwo mugambi, mu gihe igikorwa cyaba gitangiye bakabifashwamo n'Abajandarume. Minisitiri Joseph Nzirorera we yashinzwe gushaka amafaranga azakenerwa kugira ngo uwo mugambi ushyirwe mu bikorwa[162].

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161 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993

162 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les Violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990, 7-21 Janvier 1993, p.38

Nk'uko na none Bizimana abigaragaza, inyandiko na raporo zitandukanye zagarutse ku bwicanyi bwakorewe Abagogwe kuva mu 1991. Inyandiko ya Minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini Faustin Munyazesa yanditse ku itariki 6 Nyakanga 1991 muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri igaragaza ko hishwe abagogwe 286 muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri na 86 muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, ikanatanga amazina y'abishwe, Serire bari batuyemo, Segiteri na Komini zabo[163].

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Abagogwe bishwe muri Komini Butaro, Kigombe, Nkumba, Kidaho, Kinigi na Nkuli:

- Komini Butaro hishwe 24; abapfakaye 14, imfubyi 44;
- Kigombe hishwe 17, abapfakaye 1, imfubyi 46
- Nkumba abishwe ni 15, abapfakaye 10, imfubyi 40
- Kidaho hishwe 20, abapfakaye 27, imfubyi 97
- Kinigi abishwe ni 20, abapfakaye 18, imfubyi 59[164]

Mu ibaruwa ya Minisitiri Munyazesa no 770/04.09.01 yo kuwa 15 Ugushyingo 1991, avuga ko muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri:

- Hishwe Abatutsi 117, barimo abagabo 103 n'abagore 14;
- Abasigiwe ubumuga akaba ari 101, barimo abagabo 62, abagore 22 n'abana 17.
- Abapfakaye ni 86 barimo abagabo 10 n'abagore 76.
- Imfubyi zapfushije ababyeyi bombi ni 9, izapfushije umubyeyi umwe ni 292, n'abanyeshuri 70[165].

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163 Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014), *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda,* Kigali-Rwanda, p.1464-153

164 Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014), *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali-Rwanda, p.146

165 Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014), *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali-Rwanda, p.147

Mu mwaka wa 1992, abanyamategeko babiri b'ababirigi, Maitre Eric Gillet na André Jadoul bari boherejwe n'ishyirahamwe rirengera uburenganzira bwa Muntu ryo mu bubirigi ryakoreye iperereza mu Rwanda mu matariki 9-17 Mutarama na 2-5 Gashyantare 1992. Mu bushakashatsi bwabo bakoranye n'amashyirahamwe yo mu Rwanda nka ADL *(Association Rwandaise pour la défense des droits de la personne et des libertés publiques)* na Kanyarwanda. Muri raporo yabo basohoye muri Gicurasi 1992, bagaragaje ko mu Rwanda hariho akarengane gakomeye kakorerwaga Abatutsi nko kwirukanwa mu mirimo, gufungirwa ubusa kandi mu buryo bubi, bamwe bagapfira muri gereza, kwica Abatutsi cyane cyane muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri nyuma y'ifatwa ry'umujyi wa Ruhengeri n'ingabo zahoze ari za FPR mu ijoro ryo kuya 22 Mutarama 1991.

Nk'uko iyo raporo ibigaragaza, mu minsi yakurikiye ifatwa ry'umujyi wa Ruhengeri, abategetsi bakoze listi z'Abatutsi muri Komini zitandukanye, hakurikiraho kohereza ingabo zo kubica. Benshi barishwe, abashoboye kurokoka bahungira muri Zayire. Aho ubwicanyi bwakaze cyane nk'uko bigaragazwa n'iyo raporo ni muri Komini Kinigi na Mukingo mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Komini Mutura mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Mu bafunzwe bagaragazwa n'iyo raporo harimo Samvura Epimaque wafatiwe mu rugo rwe n'abasirikare bavuye mu kigo cya Mukamira bamujyana ku biro bya Komini Mukingo. Abandi bafashwe na Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli bakicwa harimo Gasahani Jean Damascène wari umwarimu ku mashuri abanza ya Mukingo; Bukumba Augustin wakoraga mu rukiko rw'ubujurire rwa Ruhengeri; Ndayambaje Florenti wari umushoferi, na murumuna we Ndayizeye alias Gihoza bo muri Komini Kigombe; Segahwege Samuel wari umukozi muri serivisi y'amateme n'imihanda ya Ministeri y'imirimo ya Leta n'ingufu; Nshutinzima Sabin wari umwarimu ku Mukingo; Kabeja Sostène n'umugore we bishwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli afatanije n'abasirikare; Biniga Faustin wajyanywe

mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira agakubitirwayo bikomeye nyuma akaza kugwa mu bitaro bya Ruhengeri; Manzi Buhirike wafungiwe muri gereza ya Ruhengeri, akagwayo; Mutijima Pierre Chrisologue wiciwe i Gitarama; Sebuhayi wiciwe mu rugo iwe; Munangu n'umuhungu we Ntanyoroka; Bajyagahe Bernard wari umwarimu wiciwe mu nzira bamutemye, n'abandi.

Muri Werurwe 1993, umuryango mpuzamahanga urengera uburenganzira bwa muntu (FIDH) wagaragaje ko mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi hishwe inzirakarengane zijugunywa mu byobo rusange. Ubwo bwicanyi bwayobowe na Burugumesitiri Gasana Thaddée. Muri Komini Mukingo ubwicanyi bwayobowe na Burugumesitiri Juvénal Kajelijeli afatanije na Minisitiri Nzirorera Joseph. Muri Komini Nkuli, Abatutsi benshi barishwe, bamwe bajugunywa mu buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga, abandi bicirwa mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira.

Raporo ya FIDH igaragaza ko abayobozi bakuru bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri harimo Minisitiri w'ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini Mugemana Jean Marie Vianney, Perefe wa Ruhengeri Charles Nzabagerageza, n'uwayoboraga gereza ya Ruhengeri Sukiranya Jeremie[166]. Abo bayobozi bashishikarije abaturage gutema ibihuru kugira ngo Inkotanyi zitazabona aho zihisha. Babwiraga abaturage ko bagomba kumenya ko uwica icyatsi kibi agomba kukirandurana n'imizi yacyo yose[167].

Muri rusange, abagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri hagati ya 1990 na 1993

166 Bizimana Jean Damascène (2014), *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali-Rwanda, pp.153-154

167 Rapport de la Commission Internationale d'enquête sur les violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda depuis le 1er Octobre 1990 (7-21 Janvier 1993), Mars 1993, p.33

ni abategetsi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare barimo Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal n'umugore we Agata Kanziga, Zigiranyirazo Protais (muramu wa Habyarimana), Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga, Bizimungu Casimir; Perefe wa Ruhengeri Charles Nzabagerageza; *Lieutenant Colonel* Ephrem Setako, uwari Superefe ushinzwe amategeko n'ubutegetsi, Kayitana Gaetan n'abandi.

2.3 Kwanga nkana gukora iperereza ku bwicanyi bwakorewe Abagogwe

Nyuma y'uko Abatutsi b'Abagogwe bishwe ku mugaragaro bikozwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana ndetse na raporo mpuzamahanga z'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu zikabigaragaza, Leta ya Habyarimana yo yavugaga ko icyihutirwa atari ukumenya abantu bapfuye n'uko bapfuye ahubwo icyambere ari ukugarura amahoro mu Banyarwanda. Inyandiko-mvugo y'inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yateranye kuwa 15 Gicurasi 1992, imwe mu myanzuro y'iyo nama ni uko MINIJUST itarikwiriye kwihutira gukora anketi y'uko abagogwe bapfuye ngo kuko zakurura imvururu zatuma amoko asubiranamo. Mu buryo burambuye, dore uko inama yanzuye kuri anketi zagombaga gukorwa na MINIJUST ku Bagogwe ngo baba barishwe:

> ………Nyuma yo kungurana ibitekerezo, inama yasanze icya mbere kandi cyihutirwa atari ukumenya abantu bapfuye n'uko bapfuye, ahubwo icya mbere ari ukugarura amahoro mu Banyarwanda; ikindi ari uko atari Abatutsi bapfuye gusa, hari n'Abahutu bapfuye kandi bagipfa. Izo anketi rero ahubwo urasanga zigamije gukurura imvururu zatuma amoko asubiranamo. Intambara rero yaziye bose: hari abapfuye, hari abatwawe n'inyenzi, abahunze n'abakuwe mu byabo n'iyo ntambara. Ntabwo rero abantu bamwe bagomba kwihandagaza ngo

> bababazwa n'ubwoko bumwe kuko birushaho kuremereza imitima y'abantu kubera iyi ntambara ikibabaza rubunda. Gushaka kuzikura rero ibintu byibagiranye byarushaho gushoza imvururu mu baturage. Inama kandi isanga ari ngombwa ko uzashoza imvururu zizaturuka kuri izo anketi azishingira kuza kuzihosha[168].

Iyo nama yari yitabiriwe na:

- Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles: Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri;
- Nzanana Dismas: Superefe wa Suprefegitura ya Busengo;
- Semasaka Faustin: Superefe wa Suprefegitura ya Kirambo;
- Kayitana Kayitani: Superefe ushinzwe iby'ubutegetsi n'amategeko;
- Ntarwanda Célestin: Superefe ushinzwe ibya Politiki;
- Ntagandamwabo Félicien: Superefe ushinzwe iby'ubukungu na Tekiniki;
- Twagiramungu Isaak: Superefe ushinzwe iby'imibereho myiza y'Abaturage, uburezi n'umuco;
- Sinamenye Gervais: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Butaro
- Nkiranuye Jean Damascène: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Cyabingo
- Munyaneza Ezechiel: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Cyeru

168 Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Ibaruwa no 023/04.09.01/16 yo kuwa 23/5/1992 iherekeza inyandikomvugo y'inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuwa 15 Gicurasi 1992, yasinywe na Perefe Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles, yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini.

- Nizeyimana Jean Bosco: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Gatonde
- Ntahompagaze Jean Bosco: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kidaho
- Maniragaba Fabien: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe
- Gasana Thaddée: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinigi
- Kajelijeli Juvénal: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo
- Bigirimana Jean Sauveur: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ndusu
- Mpiranya Mathias: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli
- Matemane Faustin: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba
- Nkurunziza Léonidas: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama
- Uwurukundo Réverien: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamugali
- Bagulijoro Léodomir: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamutera
- Karekezi Pierre: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyarutovu
- Nsabimana Jean Baptiste: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ruhondo;
- *Major* Kanimba: Cmd Jandarumeri Ruhengeri;
- Comd Nzabonimpa: Cmdt EGENA;
- Mulinda Thomas: Ushinzwe ibiro by'iperereza;
- Nsekanabanga François Xavior: Porokireri wa Repubulika
- Hakizimana Jean Baptiste: Ushinzwe CRI[169].

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169 Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Ibaruwa no 023/04.09.01/16 yo kuwa 23/5/1992 iherekeza inyandikomvugo y'inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuwa 15 Gicurasi 1992, yasinywe na Perefe Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles, yandikiye Ministri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini.

2.4. Guheza Abatutsi mu nzego za Leta n'izabikorera

Nubwo Abatutsi batari mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta, mu nzego z'umutekano no mu bindi bikorwa byashoboraga kugira aho bihurira na politiki y'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal, bari mu mirimo y'ubucuruzi ku buryo yaje guhira benshi. Ibyo rero nabyo byababaje abarwanashyaka ba MRND batifuzaga kubona Abatutsi batera imbere.

Mu inyandikomvugo y'inama ya ba Burugumesitiri yateranye ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuwa 10 Gicurasi 1991, imwe mu myanzuro y'iyo nama yasabye ko ishyaka rya MRND rigomba kugira ibyo rivugurura. Mu byo ba Burugumesitiri bashinjaga ishyaka ryabo, harimo ngo kuba MRND yaratonesheje Abatutsi mu butegetsi no mu bukungu bw'Igihugu, aho Abatutsi bagenda batera imbere mu bucuruzi ndetse ngo no kuba politiki y'iringaniza itubahirizwa neza ku buryo Abatutsi bakibona imyanya mu mashuri n'ahandi. Iyi nama yafatiwemo imirongo migari izifashishwa mu kwamamaza ishyaka rya MRND ryagombaga guhangana n'andi mashyaka ya Politiki yashakaga gutangizwa mu rwego rwa Demokarasi.

2.5. Imyigaragambyo y'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR n'ingaruka byagize ku Batutsi batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Mu gihe hari hamaze gusohoka itegeko ryemera amashyaka menshi mu Rwanda mu 1991, mu mezi yakurikiyeho habayeho icyo bise kubohoza byakorwaga n'abarwanashyaka bagize ishyaka runaka, bazana ku gahato abandi batari mu ishyaka ryabo. Usibye kubohoza, hagiye habaho imyigaragambyo yakorwaga cyane cyane n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR. Ibibazo by'umutekano mucye ukomoka kuri iyo myigaragambyo yabaye muri Mutarama 1993 byagize ingaruka ku Batutsi. Hari Abatutsi bishwe muri icyo gihe, imitungo yabo isahurwa n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR.

Raporo ya Komisiyo *Politico Administrative* ku mvururu zabaye muri Perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye igaragaza ko kuva kuwa 20 kugeza kuwa 25 z'ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1993 habaye imyigaragambyo yateje imvururu, gutwikirwa no kwicwa kuri bamwe, bikozwe n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Nk'uko iyo raporo ikomeza ibigaragaza, muri Komini ya Nyamutera hahunze abaturage bagera kuri 400, inzu zigera kuri 65 ziratwikwa ; muri Komini Gatonde abantu 02 barapfuye, 06 barakomereka, amazu 13 aratwikwa ; muri Komini Nyarutovu, hishwe umuntu umwe biba amatungo ; kimwe no muri Komini ya Nyamugali, hishwe umuntu umwe, hibwa inka imwe[170].

Raporo ikomeza ivuga ko Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamutera Bagurijoro Léodomir yoherereje ubutumwa perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ko hari ibikorwa byo guhutaza abaturage, nyamara ntihagira inzego zishinzwe umutekano ziburizamo ibyo bikorwa by'urugomo. Ariko raporo ikagaragaza ko nawe yagize uruhare mu byabaye, kuko atigeze ajya gushaka abajandarume ngo bahoshe izo mvururu, ndetse ko abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR bakoraga ibyo bashatse mu gihe we yari yigiriye mu rugo iwe i Nyakinama. Perezida w'Interahamwe muri iyo Komini Munyazikwiye Jean Baptiste, niwe wagize uruhare rukomeye mu gushyigikira ibikorwa by'umutekano mucye byahungabanije Komini bikozwe n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND[171].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, perezida wa MRND, Nizeyimana Pierre, niwe wateguye anayobora imyigaragambyo yakozwe n'Interahamwe mu kurwanya MDR, ndetse asaba ubufasha bw'Interahamwe zo muri Komini Giciye mu guhangana n'abarwanashyaka ba MDR.

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170 Gouvernement du Rwanda (Avril 1993), Rapport de la Commission Politico-Administrative sur les troubles dans les préfectures de Gisenyi, Ruhengeri et Kibuye, p.6

171 Gouvernement du Rwanda (Avril 1993), Rapport de la Commission Politico-Administrative sur les troubles dans les préfectures de Gisenyi, Ruhengeri et Kibuye, p.13

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, ibijyanye n'umutekano mucye watewe n'Interahamwe za MRND bigaragara mu baruwa zitandukanye zandikiwe Umuyobozi w'Akarere ariko ntagire icyo abikoraho. Aha twavuga ibaruwa yo kuwa 22 Mutarama 1993 Nzaramba Charles wo muri Serire Gitaraga, Segiteri ya Rubona, Komini Nyakinama, yandikiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama, amumenyesha ko uwitwa Ntamushobora uhagarariye ishyaka rya MRND muri Komini yazanye igitero cy'Interahamwe kigaca inzugi z'imiryango y'inzu ye zigasahura ibikoresho bitandukanye.

Twavuga kandi ibaruwa yo kuwa 22 Mutarama 1993 Konseye Murenzi Tharcisse wa Segiteri Nkotsi, Komini Nyakinama, yandikiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama amugezaho ikibazo cy'umutekano mucye watewe n'Interahamwe za MRND na CDR, ko bafunze abitwa Ntamahungiro na Uzanyinzoga Alphonsine bakaba barabagize ku gahato abarwanashyaka babo.

Na none twavuga ibaruwa ya Konseye Barikunda Ibrahimu wa Segiteri Gisoro, Komini ya Nyakinama, yo kuwa 24 Mutarama 1993, yandikiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama amubwira ko Interahamwe ziyobowe na Iyamuremye Yosiya na Senzira ko zakoze urugomo zigasenya amazu muri Segiteri Gisoro. Akaba yarasabaga ubuyobozi bwa Komini ko bwamutera inkunga kuko umutekano ari mucye muri Segiteri ayobora.

Imyigaragambyo y'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR yakorwaga hibasirwa Abatutsi, nk'uko bishimangirwa n'ibaruwa ya Murenzi Tharcisse, Konseye wa Nkotsi, Komini Nyakinama, yo kuwa 27 Mutarama 1993, yandikiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama. Muri iyo baruwa, Konseye yavuze ko hari impunzi ziri muri Segiteri ya Nkotsi zahunze kubera imyigaragambyo y'abarwanashyaka bo muri Segiteri ya Shyira, Komini Giciye, Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Mu bahunze harimo Mukabalisa na Nyirantwari n'abana babiri, bo muri Segiteri ya Shyira, Serire Kana bacumbikiwe muri *centre nutritionel*, Paruwasi ya Nyakinama; Karake wo muri Serire Kana, Segiteri

ya Shyira wari ucumbitse ku uwitwa Nshimango n'abandi. Konseye akomeza avuga ko Mukabalisa na Nyirantwari bahunze kubera ko bishe umubyeyi wabo bakanatwika n'amazu yabo.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu ibaruwa n° 0040/0.05/3 yo kuwa 23/01/1993, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyarutovu Twagirayezu Pierre, yandikiye Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo amugezaho raporo y'imyigaragambyo muri Komini Nyarutovu, avuga ko yangije byinshi harimo kwiba, gutwara ibintu by'abaturage, guhohotera abatavuga rumwe nabo, ndetse ko yafashe intera y'amoko y'inzangano mu giturage. Burugumesitiri akomeza avuga ko abakoraga imyigaragambyo biyitaga Interahamwe zari ziturutse kuri Base no muri Komini Nyamugali, bamwe muri zo bakaba barateye umugabo w'Umututsi wacuruzaga witwa Rukazihogo. Muri iyo myigaragambyo, hatwitswe amazu menshi y'abaturage cyane cyane abo mu ishyaka rya MDR, n'Abatutsi bari batuye muri iyo Komini[172].

Nyuma yo kumenyeshwa ibiri kubera hirya no hino, ubuyobozi ntacyo bwabikozeho, kubera ko akenshi bwababaga buri inyuma ibiri kuba. Nubwo ari abarwanashyaka ba MRND basaga nk'aho bahanganye n'abarwanashyaka ba MDR, abaturage b'Abatutsi nibo ibikorwa by'urugomo byagiragaho ingaruka. Abatutsi benshi barishwe muri iyo myigaragambyo, amazu yabo aratwikwa ndetse basahura n'imitungo yabo.

Kuva igihe urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu rwatangizwaga n'ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, kugera muri Gashyantare 1993, Abatutsi bishwe umunsi ku wundi hirya no hino mu gihugu bikozwe na Leta ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal. Ni muri urwo rwego ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi zagabye igitero simusiga ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 cyabaye mu

172 Komini Nyarutovu, Ibaruwa no 0040/04.05/3 yo kuwa 23/01/1993 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini, Twagirayezu Pierre.

duce dutandukanye tw'Igihugu kugeza ubwo zigeze mu marembo ya Kigali, hagamijwe guhagarika ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi hirya no hino mu gihugu no guha gasopo Leta ya Habyarimana ko itagomba gukomeza kwica Abatutsi. Nubwo Kwica Abatutsi bitahagaze burundu, icyo gitero cyatumye Leta ya Habyarimana yumva ko igomba gushyikirana na RPF-Inkotanyi. Ibyo ariko ntacyo byahinduye kubera ko umugambi wa Jenoside wakomeje kunozwa uhereye mu nzego zo hejuru za gisivili na gisirikare kugera mu nzego z'ibanze.

IGICE CYA GATATU: UBURYO BWAKORESHEJWE MU GUTEGURA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA RUHENGERI

Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yari mu Majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'u Rwanda, akarere kazwiho kuba kari indiri y'ishyaka rya MRND, ryateguye rikanashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 . Ni agace karanzwe no kwicirwamo Abatutsi bya hato na hato kuva mu 1990; ubwicanyi bwakomeje busozwa na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Itegurwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ryanogejwe hakoreshejwe uburyo butandukanye burimo inama zihamagarira Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi, gushyiraho imitwe yitwara gisirikare, kuyitoza no kuyiha ibikoresho, no kuyihamagararira kurimbura Abatutsi muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

3.1. Gushishikariza urwango n'amacakubiri binyuze mu nama rusange

Mu rwego rwo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi wa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, habaye inama zitandukanye muri Perefegitura no mu ma Komini kugira ngo hashyirweho ingamba zo kugera kuri uwo mugambi. Abayobozi n'abandi bavuga rikijyana biganjemo abarwanashyaka ba MRND bakoreshaga inama hirya no hino, bashishikariza abazitabiriye kuba maso, bagahangana n'umwanzi, ariwe Umututsi. Akenshi Abatutsi bababaga bahejwe muri izo nama.

Gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi byashyizwemo imbaraga cyane nyuma y'aho RPF-Inkotanyi itangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu kuwa 1 Ukwakira 1990. Abayobozi batandukanye batangiye kubwira abaturage

ko Abatutsi aribo banzi b'Igihugu, ko aribo bateye Igihugu kandi ko bafite umugambi wo kugirira nabi Abahutu, bityo ko nibatirwanaho ngo bikize umwanzi wabo hakiri kare, ko bo bazabarimbura, bakabamaraho bose.

Ni muri urwo rwego abayobozi batandukanye bakoresheje inama zatangiwemo ubutumwa bushimangira urwango Abahutu bagomba kugirira Abatutsi, no kubashishikariza kwica Abatutsi.

3.1.1. Inama ya Perezida wa Repubulika yo kuwa 15 Ugushyingo 1992

Ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 1992, hakoreshejwe meeting ya MRND yabereye muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuri *Stade* ya Ruhengeri. Iyo mitingi yitabiriwe n'abayobozi batandukanye barimo na Perezida wa Repubulika Habyarimana Juvénal. Mu ijambo yagejeje ku baturage ba Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri bari bitabiriye inama, yashimiye Interahamwe, azikundisha abitabiriye inama bose kandi ashimangira ko zikora akazi kazo neza; yivugira mu ruhame ko zigomba gushyigikirwa. Mu buryo burambuye, ijambo rye ryari riteye ritya:

IJAMBO PEREZIDA YUVENALI HABYARIMANA YAVUGIYE MURI MITINGI YA MRND YABEREYE MU RUHENGERI KU ITARIKI YA 15 UGUSHYINGO 1992

> *(KV00-0392E: 07min 44 sec – 17 min 44 sec)*
> Ndakeka ko hasigaye gusa ibyo gushima n'ibyo gusezera. Nkaba mpagurukijwe no kugira ngo mbashimire mwese uko mwaje kwizihiza ibirori uyu munsi (… *inaudible)* Bajyaga bambwira bati kuba rwose utajya muri mitingi ya MRND ngo wirebere, bati ni umunsi mukuru. *(amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma)*. None nabyiboneye koko. Icyakora njye sindatangira kujya muri mitingi, uyu munsi gusa nuko nanze guca ku rugo.

Birasanzwe (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*), birasanzwe, muzi ko ntuye hirya ahangaha, abana baravuze bati turashaka kujya kuramutsa nyogokuru, ngeze hano mbona hateraniye abantu none (… *inaudible*), ubundi mu kinyarwanda birasanzwe, iyo ugeze ku rugo ugasanga hari abantu, kenshi baba bateretse, ntiwagenda… (*inaudible*). *(Amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma).*

Icyakora ninjiye rero, ninjira numvise ikintu, numvise noneho impamvu ba bandi batinya amatora. *(amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma)* Ngo baratsinze, ngo baratsinze, ngo ariko ntibashaka amatora. *(amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma).* Nyumvira! Icyakora numvise impamvu badashaka amatora koko.

Maze rero amagambo yanjye ni ayo gushima, nkabanza gushima abashinzwe ishyaka hano mu Ruhengeri, ngashimira Dogiteri Bizimungu uhagarariye ishyaka hano mu Ruhengeri, ngashimira abamufasha muri *Bureau Politique*, ngashimira abamufasha muri *Bureau régional*, abamufasha muri *Comité Préfectoral*, nkabashimira namwe mwese, mwebwe mushyigikiye ishyaka rya MRND, ishyaka ry'amahoro, ishyaka ry'ubumwe, ishyaka rishyigikiye Amajyambere (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*).

None rero, ndasaba abayobozi b'ishyaka ryacu mu maperefegitura yose ko bakwegera abaSerire bo hasi, ko bakwegera abarwanashyaka bacu bo hasi, bakaganira nabo, ko bakwegera abahinzi borozi. Nkunda kuvuga ko igiti atari amashami gusa, ahubwo icya ngombwa ku giti ni imizi ihamye, igaburira icyo giti. *(amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma).*

Kandi rero iyo mizi ni abahinzi borozi. Mubegere muganire nabo, mwumve uko bahumeka; mubegere

mwumve ingorane bafite; mubegere igihe bishimye, mubegere igihe bafite ibyago, ni bwo ishyaka ryacu rizarushaho gukomera. Nkaba nsabye rero abayobozi mu nzego zose kwegera rwose abahinzi borozi bagakorana nabo. Abahinzi borozi ni bo shyaka ryacu, nibo Barwanashyaka bacu.

Amagambo nakongera kuvuga uyu munsi ni ukubasaba mwese, barwanashyaka ba MRND ko mwashyigikira umutekano. Ndasaba Abanyarwanda bose ko bashyigikira umutekano. Umutekano uhangayikishije Abanyarwanda bose muri iki gihe. Ndabasaba rwose ko MRND ishyigikiye amahoro yakwerekana ko ishyigikiye umutekano. Ndasaba ariko n'abagomba gutahura abagizi ba nabi ko batakwihisha inyuma y'ibigambo ngo ni Interahamwe, ngo ni MRND, n'abandi bose bashaka kubigerekaho. Nibashake abo bantu koko. Nibo bafite ba OPJ, nibo bafite ba Substituts; nk'uko byavuzwe nibo bashinzwe iperereza. Nibashake abo bantu. Koko, bararebye basanga imvururu ziba muri Gitarama, basanga ari Interahamwe koko? (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*). Bararebye mu Bugesera, abantu barafunzwe, barafungurwa, ngo anketi zarabaye! Izo anketi zibahe? Nibazishyire hanze zigaragare (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma)*. Abafunzwe ku Kibuye basanze harimo Interahamwe? Ariko barakomeza ngo turi muri anketi, turakora anketi, turakora anketi; izo anketi ni bazigaragaze.

Niba batazigaragaje ni ukuyobya uburari. Ubwo ni uko basanze harimo abo bashaka kurengera (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma)*. Mbese ni nka wa mushimusi w'inka : ngo abashimusi b'inka bagiye kwiba ni ijoro maze bagenda bakoma ku myugariro, nyir'inka arabyuka arabatesha, abirukaho, abaturanyi baramutabara. Ba bajura babonye bagiye kubafata bari ku musozi, bafata ikibuye bagihirika mu masaka,

noneho bakoma akamo ngo ngabo nimubakurikire, ngo ngabo ngabo ! Abajegutabara bakurikira cya kibuye, naho abajura bikinze ku nsina basigaye mu mpinga. Ni aho bashaka kutujyana. Izo anketi nibazigaragaze turebe abagome abo aribo, turebe abica abantu muri Nyabikenke, turebe abashenye amazu muri Kibuye, turebe abateze za *mines* muri Cyangugu. Se ko bafashwe bakabyivugira, aho bava n'amashyaka barimo, ibyo barabihishira iki ? (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*).

.... Ko bariya bana bari muri biriya bigo by'impunzi, biriya bigo by'abavuye mu byabo, bariya bana cyane cyane b'imfubyi, ko twababafasha. Ndiyemeza ko buri munyarwanda wumva wishoboye, afashe umwana akamurera, kugeza igihe intambara izarangirira, ndakeka ko abo bana batakomeza kunyagirirwa hanze. Ubungubu murabona ko ari igihe cy'imvura, ko batakomeza kunyagirirwa hanze.

Ndabasaba rero Banyaruhengeri, ndabasaba Banyarwanda mwese, mu ma Perefegitura hirya no hino, ko buri wese yareba umwana yafasha, uwishoboye na none, akamurera kugeza igihe intambara izarangirira.

Numvise ikiganiro batugejejeho ejobundi bavuga ukuntu abana bari muri ibyo bigo, biga amashuri muri primaire, badafite n'aho bicara, badafite ikaye yo kwandikamo. Birababaje, dukomeze tubafashe.

Njyewe ubwanjye nkaba nsabye perefe wo mu Ruhengeri, nkaba nsabye perefe w'i Byumba, ko yabarura abana bari muri *école primaire* biga muri ibyo bigo, nkazabashakira njyewe ubwanjye amakaye. (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*).

Maze rero amagambo yari ayo gushima, amagambo yari ayo gusezera. Nanze rwose guca ku rugo,

naho ubundi mitingi ntiziratangira, ku giti cyanjye. *(amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma)* .

Igihe zizatangirira nzatuma ku Nterahamwe maze tumanuke koko. (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*). Niyo mpamvu nsaba *Secrétariat National*, niyo mpamvu nsaba Umunyabanga mukuru wacu, kumvikana n'abacuruzi kugira ngo dushake ibitambaro by'Interahamwe (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*), kuko Interahamwe iyo ziri mu mwambaro wazo ziraberwa koko. (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*). Ziraberwa rwose ugasanga..., nibashake rero. Barambwiye ngo icyo gitambaro cyahenda, ariko nticyahenda kurusha indi myenda tugura. Nibashake ibitambaro by'Interahamwe zambare, zigaragare. (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*).

Amagambo yanjye ni ayo, ni ayo kubashimira mwese, kubashimira ukuntu mwanyakiriye, kubashimira ukuntu mwateguye iminsi mikuru yose, ibirori byose twabonye, amagambo yose avuzwe; gushimira abashinzwe ishyaka MRND hano mu Ruhengeri, gushimira abarwanashyaka ba MRND hano mvuga nti mukomere, icyangombwa ni ugutsinda amatora kandi tuzayatsinda kuko muhagaze neza hirya no hino mu ma Perefegitura. (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma)*.

Igihe rero nikigera, nzabatumaho mwese, nzabwira Interahamwe nti tujyane. Barambwiye ngo wowe n'ujya kwiyamamaza ngo uzajyana abasirikare bawe ngo kugira ngo abe ari bo bakwamamaza; nibanyamamaza hari icyo se? (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*). Ariko nzi ko abazanyamamaza cyane ari Interahamwe kuko turi kumwe. Murakarama. (*amashyi, amafirimbi n'ingoma*).

Nk'uko bigaragara mu ijambo rye, Perezida Habyarimana yashimiye Interahamwe, anabashimira kuri mitingi bakoresha. Habyarimana yari azi neza ko mitingi zikoreshwa n'Interahamwe akenshi zikurikirwa n'ibikorwa bitandukanye byo guhohotera Abatutsi. Aho gusaba Interahamwe kubaha uburenganzira bw'abo badahuje ibitekerezo, yashimiye byimazeyo ibikorwa byabo anabashishikariza gukomeza uwo murongo, no kuwugeza ku baturage bose, ashimangira ko interahamwe zigomba kuba maso no kwirinda umuntu wese ushobora kwivanga muri gahunda yabo.

Kuba Perezida Habyarimana yarasabye ko gucengeza amatwara byakorwa kugera ku baturage bo hasi, byerekana imbaraga ubuyobozi zashyize mu gutegura Jenoside aho ubuyobozi bwagombaga kumvisha abaturage kuva ku rwego rwo hasi, ko igihugu nta wundi mwanzi gifite uretse Umututsi, bityo igihe cyo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside nikigera, abaturage bazabe bazi kandi baramenyeshejwe akazi kabategereje ko gufatanya n'abayobozi bagahiga Umututsi bivuye inyuma.

Aho avuga ko "igiti atari amashami gusa, ahubwo icya ngombwa ku giti ari imizi ihamye, igaburira icyo giti", yashakaga kwerekana ko ingufu nyinshi zigomba gushyirwa mu baturage, imyumvire yabo ikajya mu murongo wifuzwa, bityo kwica Abatutsi bizakorwe mu gihe gito kandi mu buryo bworoshye, kuko abaturage bazaba bazi icyo gukora.

Perezida Habyarimana yasabye abari bitabiriye inama gushyigikira umutekano, mu gihe hirya no hino muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri byari byaramaze kwinjizwa mu mitwe y'abaturage ko umwanzi wabo ari Umututsi, ko ariwe wateye igihugu, dore ko abenshi bari baratangiye no kwicwa, nta nkurikizi. Ubutumwa bwe bwakanguriye abaturage gukomeza kurwanya umwanzi no kumwikiza bagamije kwicungira umutekano nk'uko yari yabisabye abaturage n'abayobozi. Ibi bishimangirwa kandi n'uburyo yatinze ku kugaragaraza ko abana bahunze babayeho mu buzima bubi kubera umwanzi igihugu gifite, bityo ko

nihatabaho kuba maso no kumwikiza ko Abanyaruhengeri nabo bashobora guhura n'ibibazo nk'ibyo abo bana bahunze bafite.

Muri *discours* ye, Perezida Habyarimana yareruye, yivugira ko igihe nikigera azatuma ku Nterahamwe ze zimanuke, avuga kandi ko ari kumwe nazo. Ibi yabivuze azi neza icyo bishatse gusobanura. Ijambo rye ryahaye imbaraga Interahamwe bituma zirushaho gukora ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi harimo kwibasira Abatutsi n'abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwe. Amezi yakurikiye ijambo rya Perezida Habyarimana, Interahamwe zakoranye umurava zibasira Abatutsi mu duce dutandukanye aho zabaga zakoze imyigaragambyo. Urugero, ni imyigaragambyo yakozwe n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND yabaye hagati y'itariki 19 na 23 Mutarama 1993 mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Gisenyi. Nk'uko twabigaragaje mu bice bibanza, Interahamwe za MRND ziraye mu Batutsi n'abarwanashyaka ba MDR zitwika amazu yabo no kubica mu duce dutandukanye, nko muri Komini Nyamutera, Ndusu, Gatonde, ndetse no mu duce twa Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Ikindi na none, ijambo rya Perezida Habyarimana ryatumye abaturage batari binjira mu mutwe w'Interahamwe bumva ko nabo bagomba kuyoboka uwo mutwe kubera ko ushyigikiwe na Perezida, ibyo byatumye mu duce dutandukanye hashyirwaho Komite yazo kuva ku rwego rwa Segiteri kugeza ku rwego rw'Igihugu. Perezida Habyarimana yari azi neza ibikorwa by'Interahamwe kandi yifuzaga ko bishobotse abaturage bose bazishyigikira mu bikorwa byazo.

Nyuma y'inama yavuzwe haruguru yo kuwa 15 Ugushyingo 1992 umwuka warushijeho kuba mubi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Abayobozi mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare barushijeho gushimangira urwango, gutoza interahamwe bikorwa ku mugaragaro, no gutanga imbunda mu baturage bikorwa nta nkomyi, kuko icyari kigambiriwe, kurimbura Umututsi, byari bishyigikiwe na Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal.

Uretse Perezida wa Repubulika, abayobozi mu nzego nkuru za gisirikare na gisivili baranzwe n'imvugo zishimangira urwango ku batutsi. Nk'uko byagarutsweho n'Ubushinjacyaha bw'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, kuva mu 1993, imvugo ya Augustin Bizimungu wari ukuriye ibikorwa bya gisirikare muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yashimangiraga ko Umututsi ari umwanzi, aho atat erwaga ipfunwe ryo kubagereranya n'icyatsi bita IGISURA, yavugaga ko kigomba kurandurwa kubera ububi bwacyo[173].

3.1.2. Inama zakoreshejwe na Nzirorera Joseph zitegura Jenoside

Nzirorera Joseph wari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa MRND yakoresheje inama zitandukanye mbere y'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, aho yemereye Interahamwe ubufasha butandukanye burimo ubw'amafaranga, intwaro, imyambaro n'ibikoresho byose byakenerwa haba mu myitozo no gucengeza urwango n'amacukubiri mu baturage. Izo nama zaberaga kwa Nyina wa Nzirorera mu yahoze ari Segiteri Busogo, Komini Mukingo cyangwa ku kabari ka Nzirorera kari mu Byangabo, kazwi ku izina rya *Isimbi Bar*. Izo nama zitabirwaga n'abayobozi batandukanye bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare harimo Bizimungu Casimir wari Perezida wa MRND ku rwego rwa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin wari ukuriye ingabo mu Ruhengeri, *Colonel* Setako Ephrem, Kajelijeli Juvénal, Baheza Esdras wari umucuruzi n'abandi. Muri izo nama, abazitabiriye biyemeje kurwanya bivuye inyuma FPR Inkotanyi, kurwanya amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha no kurimbura Abatutsi[174].

173 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaga buregamo Augustin Ndindiliyimana, Augustin Bizimungu, François-Xavier Nzuwonemeye na Innocent Sagahutu: AOF, Case n° ICTR-00-S6-T, page2, paragraphe3, 7304bis

174 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaga buregamo Joseph Nzirorera, Case n° ICTR-98-44-T, Paji ya 40, Igika cya 62.1- 62.3

Muri Mutarama 1994, Nzirorera Joseph yatumije inama yabereye murugo iwabo mu Byangabo, mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo. Iyo nama yarimo abaperezida b'inzego za MRND na CDR muri Komini, abagenzuzi b'amashuri, Abakonseye, abacuruzi, n'abandi bantu bari bahagarariye amashyaka ya politiki na komite z'Interahamwe. Mu bitabiriye iyo nama harimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo Harerimana Emmanuel, Kajelijeli Juvénal wavugaga rikijyana muri Komini Mukingo, Jean Damascène Niyoyita wari uhagarariye MRND muri Komini Mukingo, Baheza Esdras wari umucuruzi, na Jean Baptiste Nyabusore wari umuyobozi wa ISAE-Busogo. Nk'uko byagaragajwe n'Umushinjacyaha mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriwe u Rwanda (ICTR), abari mu nama bari basangiye umugambi urangwa n'ubutagondwa kandi bacuze umugambi wo gutsemba Abatutsi[175].

3.1.3. Inama zayobowe n'Abategetsi mu nzego z'ibanze

Mu mugambi wo gutegura Jenoside, inama ziyobowe n'abategetsi bo mu nzego z'ibanze zabereye hirya no hino mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, zigakoreshwa na Perefe, Superefe, Burugumesitiri na ba Konseye.

Mu rwego rwo gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi, abayobozi babwiraga abaturage ko abateraga u Rwanda kuva kera aribo bihinduye Inkotanyi bakaba bashaka kunyaga Abahutu ibyabo byose harimo n'amasambu bafite. Bitewe n'uko Abahutu benshi babaga bafite amasambu y'Abatutsi bafashe nyuma yo kubamensha mu myaka itandukanye uhereye mu 1959, byatumye bitabira ibyo babwiwe, batangira kwanga Umututsi aho ava akagera uhereye kubo baturanye. Umwe mu batangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi abyemeza muri aya magambo:

175 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaga buregamo Kajelijeli, Case nN° ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 136, Igika cya 447

> Abahutu benshi biraye mu kwica Abatutsi kubera ibyo babwirwaga n'ubuyobozi ko Abatutsi nibagaruka bazababavana mu masambu bari barafashe ubwo bahungaga kuva mu mwaka wa 1959. Ibi byabaye imwe mu mpamvu yatumye Abahutu bica Abatutsi bari baturanye kugira ngo hatazaboneka uvuga ibijyanye n'amasambu y'Abatutsi bigabije nyuma yo kubamenesha[176].

Kubera ko na none Abahutu bari barigishijwe igihe kirekire ko Abatutsi ari babi, inyigisho zongeye gushimangirwa nyuma y'itangira ry'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu mu 1990; bigakorwa hagamijwe kubiba urwango no gushishikariza Abahutu kwikiza Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya avuga amwe mu magambo yibuka yakundaga gukoreshwa n'Abayobozi:

> « *Muribuka uko Abatutsi bari baraduhatse none baragarutse? Muzi uko twakubiswe ibiboko, dukoreshwa imirimo y'uburetwa none baragarutse? Nimutabikiza murasubira mu buretwa. Icyo kintu cyatumye Abahutu bumva ko bagomba gukora iyo bwabaga bakica Abatutsi kugira ngo batazongera gusubira ku buretwa* »[177].

Abategetsi batandukanye babwiraga Abahutu ko usibye kunyagwa amasambu bafite, bazavanwa no mu mirimo bakora, abasirikare nabo bakirukanwa. Abahutu bakabeshywa ko icyo Inkotanyi zigamije ari ukwica Umuhutu wese. Ibyo byatumye abaturage bumva ko bibasiwe n'Abatutsi, bumva ko bashobora gutakaza ibyabo, izo nyigisho z'ibinyoma zituma bashishikarira kwitabira umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi.

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176 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

177 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko inama zo kumvisha abaturage b'Abahutu akaga bafite igihe cyose badafatanyiriza hamwe kwikiza Umututsi zatangiye mu kwakira 1990. Izo nama zikaba zarabaye hirya no hino mu makomini yari agize Perefegitura Ruhengeri[178].

3.1.3.1. Ku rwego rwa Perefegtura

Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yayobowe n'Abaperefe basimburanye ku buryo bukurikira : Zigiranyirazo Protais wabaye Perefe kuva mu 1988 kugera mu 1989, akurikirwa na Nzabagerageza Charles kugeza mu 1992 na Baliyanga Sylvestre kugeza igihe yiciwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Baliyanga Sylvestre yasimbuwe na Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile. Abo ba perefe uko basimburanye bose bari Abahutu bava mu ishyaka rya MRND.

Kuva mu Ukwakira 1990, Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri afatanyije n'inzego z'umutekano n'iza gisirikare bakoresheje inama zitandukanye zitegura umugambi wa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Izo nama akenshi zaritwaga inama z'umutekano. Muri zo twavuga:

Inama y'umutekano yo kuwa 12 Gashyantare 1992

Nk'uko bigaragazwa na FAX No 170/04.09.01 yo kuwa 13 Gashyantare 1992 yohererejwe MININTER i Kigali Ikanamenyeshwa MINADEF i Kigali, iyi nama yayobowe na Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles, yateraniye ku biro bya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, ikaba yari yatumiwemo ba Superefe na ba Burugumesitiri bo mu karere karimo imirwano (*zone de combat*), ni ukuvuga izahoze ari Komini Kinigi, Nkumba, Kidaho na Butaro. Iyi nama yize ingingo ebyiri gusa: (1) Kwirinda kw'abaturage (*auto-défense civile*), (2) Umutekano muri Perefegitura cyane cyane mu mujyi wa Ruhengeri (Komini Kigombe).

178 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

Nyuma yo gutangiza inama, Perefe Dr. Nzabagerageza Charles yahaye ijambo *Major* BEM Sebahire wari *Commandant OPS* Ruhengeri kugira ngo avuge aho gahunda yo kwigisha imbunda mu baturage igeze, kubera ko amalisiti y'abagombaga kwigishwa yabonetse. Major BEM Sebahire yafashe ijambo avuga ko barangije kwitegura, ko hari abarimu 4 n'ababunganira 7 (*4 instructeurs et 7 aide-instructeurs*). Avuga ko bashobora kwigishiriza rimwe abantu 140. Asaba ko imibare y'abazigishwa yasumba iyateganijwe kubera ko mu gihe cyo kwigisha hari abashobora guhita bavamo kubera impamvu zinyuranye. Ibyo byatumye buri Komini ihabwa umubare w'abazigishwa imbunda igomba kohereza:

- Komini Kinigi: abantu 130
- Komini Nkumba: abantu 50
- Komini Kidaho: abantu 110
- Komini Butaro: abantu 150

Nyuma yo kugaragaza imibare ikenewe, hemejwe kandi ko gahunda yo kwigisha imbunda igomba gutangira kuwa 14 Gashyante 1992 ni ukuvuga nyuma y'iminsi ibiri gusa; bagahurira muri EGENA. Hemejwe ko kwigisha bitangira saa tatu za mu gitondo (9h00) kugera saa cyenda (15h00), bakigishwa mu buryo bukurikira:

- Kuva kuwa 14 kugera kuwa 23 Gashyantare 1992 hazigishwa abakomoka muri Komini Kinigi, ba Superefe bakorera kuri Perefegitura uko ari Batatu, Burugumesitiri wa Kinigi-Kigombe-Ruhondo-Nyakinama-Nyamutera-Mukingo-Nkuli.

- Kuva kuwa 24 Gashyantare kugera kuwa 4 Werurwe 1992 hazigishwa abakomoka muri Komini Kidaho, Ababurugumesitiri basigaye na Superefe wa Busengo na Kirambo.

- Kuva kuwa 5 Werurwe kugera kuwa 14 Werurwe 1992 hazigishwa abakomoka muri Komini Nkumba n'igice cya Butaro hamwe na Konseye ba Komini Kigombe.
- Kuva kuwa 15 Werurwe kugera kuwa 24 Werurwe 1992 hazigishwa abasigaye bakomoka muri Komini Butaro.

Muri iyo nama hanasuzumwe ahazabikwa imbunda zigomba kujya zikoreshwa ku marondo. *Commandant OPS* Ruhengeri, *Major BEM* Sebahire yavuze ko zidashobora na gato kubikwa kuri za *Positions*, hemezwa ko ba Burugumesitiri bashaka ahandi hantu mu masegeiteri zabikwa.

Guha abaturage imyitozo ya gisirikare no kubigisha imbunda nta kindi byari bigamije uretse kumara abaturage ubwoba bwo kwica, no kubategura mbere y'igihe kugira ngo igihe cyo kwica Abatutsi ni kigera abaturage bazabe baratojwe mu buryo buhagije kandi baracengewe n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yo kwikiza Umututsi.

Izo nama zarakomeje ariko mu buryo bw'umwiherero. Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal nibwo abategetsi batandukanye batangiye gukoresha inama ku mugaragaro, bashishikariza abaturage b'Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, gusenya amazu yabo no gusahura imitungo yabo. Kubera ko bari bashyigikiwe n'ubuyobozi, byatumye abaturage benshi b'Abahutu bashyigikiye Leta ya Habyarimana bagaragara mu bikorwa bya Jenoside.

3.1.3.2. Ku rwego rwa Komini

Inama zitegura umugambi wa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi zaberaga akenshi mu muhezo, zikayoborwa na Burugumesitiri. Abazaga mu nama babaga ari abashinzwe imirimo muri Komini, abasirikare n'abandi bashinzwe umutekano. Icyakora hari inama zabaga ku mugaragaro zigatumirwamo abaturage b'Abahutu mu rwego rwo kubumvisha ko bagomba kuba maso bakarwanya umwanzi, ariwe Umututsi, bivuye inyuma.

3.1.3.2.1. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, habereye inama nyinshi zitegura ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi kuva mu Kwakira 1990. Nk'uko benshi mu batangabuhamya twagiranye ibiganiro bavuga: Burgumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli Mpiranya Mathias, yakoresheje inama abaturage mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990 nyuma y'itangira ry'urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu. Iyo nama yatangiwemo ubutumwa bwo kubiba urwango hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Muri iyo nama, Burugumesitiri yabwiye abaturage ko bagomba kumenya umwanzi uwo ariwe, bakamurwanya bivuye inyuma. Mu buryo buzimije Burugumesitiri yashishikarije Abahutu kwica Abatutsi akoresheje aya magambo: « *Iyo urutozi rukuriye uruhonyorera mw'ipantaro ngo kandi ibyo mvuze mube mubyumva ».* Aha akaba yarashakaga kuvuga ko nta kindi bafite cyo gukora uretse kwica Abatutsi[179].

Inama nyinshi zaberaga mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, akenshi zabaga zirimo Burugumesitiri wa Komini, ba Konseye, abasirikare bakuru nka *Colonel* Setako Ephrem n'abandi. Ubutumwa bwatangirwaga muri izo nama bukaba bwari ubwo gushishikariza Abahutu kwitegura uko bazarwana intambara no kwikiza umwanzi ariwe Umututsi[180].

3.1.3.2.2. Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, habaye inama zitandukanye zihuje Interahamwe n'abayobozi. Inama z'Interahamwe zaberaga kuri *Bar Isimbi* ya Nzirorera Joseph mu Byangabo cyangwa zikabera kwa Nyina wa Nzirorera Joseph. Inama

179 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

180 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

zabaga buri kuwa gatandatu, zikayoborwa na Nzirorera Joseph cyangwa Kajelijeli Juvénal[181].

Nk'uko byasobanuwe n'Umutangabuhamya imbere y'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda, Arusha muri Tanzaniya, yavuze ko :

> Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993, mu kabari ka Nzirorera Joseph kitwaga *Bar Isimbi*, kari muri *centre* ya Byangabo muri Komini ya Mukingo, habereye inama y'Interahamwe. Ako kabari akaba ariko kaberagamo inama hafi ya zose zitegura Jenoside. Umutangabuhamya yari umwe mu batumiwe muri iyi nama. Kajelijeli watumije inama yasobanuriye abayitabiriye ko hari icyo Minisitiri Nzirorera Joseph ashaka kubabwira. Iyo nama yarimo abatumirwa batandukanye bakomoka mu makomini ahana imbibi na Komini Mukingo. Mu bayitabiriye baturutse muri Komini Nkuli harimo Sharire Harerimana wari Perezida w'ishyaka rya CDR, Sendugu Shadrack wari Perezida wa MRND muri Komini ya Nkuli akaba n'umuyobozi w'ikigo cy'amashuri abanza cya Gitovu giherereye mu gace ka Kintobo, Gatsimbanyi Dominique wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli, n'Interahamwe zitandukanye zikomoka muri Komini ya Mukingo. Abo bantu bose bari Abahutu: Nta Mututsi washoboraga kwinjira muri ako kabari kitwaga Isimbi kuko babaga bafite ubwoba. Muri iyo nama Minisitiri Nzirorera Joseph ubwe yivugiye mu buryo busobanutse ko amakuru yose Kajelijeli Juvénal azajya abagezaho bagomba kujya bumva ko ari we yaturutseho, ko avuye kwa Minisitiri, bityo ayo makuru akaba aba yayahawe na Guverinoma[182]

181 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

182 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaga buregamo Kajelijeli, Case n° ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji 92-93, Igika cya 296.

Muri Komini Mukingo, Kajelijeli Juvénal yafatwaga nk'umuvugizi wa Minisitiri Nzirorera kubera ko bari inshuti magara. Byongeye kandi, kuba bombi barakomokaga hamwe muri Komini ya Mukingo, byatumaga Kajelijeli Juvénal agira ububasha n'icyubahiro. Bityo udakoze ibyo amutegetse gukora, ntarwanye umwanzi ari we Mututsi byababaga bisobanura ko amushyigikiye, ko asuzuguye Minisitiri, bityo nawe akaba yarashoboraga gufatwa nk'umwanzi.

Komini Mukingo yagiraga Interahamwe nyinshi zigera kuri 690. Zikaba zari zizwi neza kandi zifite umwambaro uziranga n'abayobozi bakuru bazishyigikiye barangajwe imbere na Nzirorera Joseph. Nzirorera Joseph wakomokaga muri Komini Mukingo, yabaye Minisitiri muri Guverinoma za MRND zo mu myaka ya 1987, 1989, 1990 na 1991. Mu 1994 akaba yari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa MRND; aharanira ko MRND ikomera ku gace avukamo, bityo agakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo gahunda za MRND zose zigerweho[183].

Uretse abayobozi ba Komini bakoreshaga inama, abandi bayobozi n'intumwa za rubanda nabo ntibahwemye gukoresha inama muri Komini Mukingo. Aha twavuga Depite Basebya mwene Rugombamishari warerewe kwa Ntamushobora; iyo yakoreshaga inama, ibiganiro bye byababaga bikanga abaturage, ababaza ati: « *kuki barebera Abatutsi »?* Umutangabuhamya

twaganiriye yatangaje ko mu kwezi atibuka neza mu mwaka wa 1992, Depite Basebya yakoresheje inama asaba abaturage kwica Abatutsi akoresheje imvugo y'amarenga : « *Iyo urutozi ruriye umuntu mu ipantaro ntaruhonyora ? Namwe rero mujye mubigenza mutyo »*.

183 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaga buregamo Kajelijeli, Case nº ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji 108, Igika cya 354.

3.1.3.2.3. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe na Nkumba

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe inama zitandukanye zaberaga ahitwa muri *Tete Gauche* uvuye ku rya 6 mu mujyi wa Musanze. Umuhungu wa Rwabaridadi na Konseye Musigiyende nibo baziyoboraga. Muri izo nama higishwaga ko Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa, kuko aribo bashyigikiye Inkotanyi[184].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba, abatangabuhamya twaganiriye bavuga ko nyuma y'iminsi mike urugamba rwo kuhora Igihugu rutangiye mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1990, abayobozi batandukanye harimo na Minisitiri Nzirorera Joseph bakoresheje inama abaturage bo muri Segiteri ya Kinoni, Komini Nkumba bababwira ko bagomba guhiga inyenzi aho ziri hose. Nzirorera Joseph yakundaga gukurikirana cyane ibibera muri Komini Nkumba, kubera ko umuryango w'umugore we ariho wari utuye[185].

Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba Matemane Faustin nawe ubwe yakoresheje inama nyinshi asaba abaturage b'Abahutu kuba maso no kurwanya inyenzi. Burugumesitiri Matemane Faustin akaba yarashyizeho n'insoresore ziyise « *Turimaso »*, zaranzwe no gutoteza Abatutsi no gusahura ibyabo. Izo nsoresore zaje kujya guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikare, nyuma zihindurirwa izina, zivamo umutwe w'aba « *Quinze* ».

3.1.3.2.4. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu, habaye inama zitandukanye zimakaza urwango n'amacakubiri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Muri *meeting* y'ishyaka rya MDR yabereye i Nemba muri Komini Nyarutovu kuwa 10 Ugushyingo 1991, abayobozi batandukanye bari bayitabiriye bagarutse ku kibazo cy'umutekano muke. Mu

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184 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya UWAYEZU Immaculée mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

185 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUKIYINTWARI Jean Nepomuscène mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

ijambo yagejeje kubayitabiriye, *Colonel* Bangamwabo wayoboraga ingabo muri ako gace yamenyesheje Abahutu « *ko batagomba gukeka ko kamere ntutsi yashyize, ko Abatutsi nta kindi bifuza uretse kugarura ingoma yabo*». Minisitiri Bicamumpaka Jerome wari muri iyo nama yakomeje yibutsa amavu n'amavuko ya MDR-Parmehutu asobanura ko abarwanashyaka bose bayobowe na Grégoire Kayibanda, batoye MDR kugira ngo ibohoze Abahutu. Dr Murego Donati wari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa MDR mu Rwego w'Igihugu yunze murya mugenzi we, ashimira MDR-Parmehutu kuba yarabohoje Abahutu muri 1959.

Nubwo mu gihe cy'amashyaka menshi MDR yasaga nkaho ihanganye n'ishyaka rya MRND, ntabwo yaharaniraga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Nk'uko byakunze kugarukwaho n'abayobozi b'iryo shyaka rya Politike, nka Jerome Bicamumpaka na Dr Murego Donati, icyo ishyaka MDR ryari rigamije kwari ukwereka Abahutu ko intego yaryo ari iya 1959, yo kubatandukanya n'Abatutsi[186].

Nk'uko byagarutsweho n'abatangabuhamya, inama zimakaza urwango zarakomeje, ziba mu bihe bitandukanye zibera mu ga *Centre* ka Gakenke. Inama umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yibuka ni inama yayobowe na Bizimungu Casimir yakoresherejwe mu gikari cyo kwa Bizimana mu Gakenke, asaba Abahutu kwikiza abo batavuga rumwe, Abatutsi[187].

Undi mutangabuhamya avuga ko hari inama yabereye ku mashuri y'i Nemba, hakaba hanarigishirizwaga imbunda. Iyo nama yabaye mu kwezi kwa Werurwe 1994 yakoreshejwe na *General* Bizimungu Augustin. Mu butumwa yatanze yabwiye abaturage ko ntawundi mwanzi bafite uretse Umututsi[188].

186 Mitingi ya MDR yabereye i Nemba kuwa 10/11/1991

187 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGIRABANYIGINYA Casmir mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

188 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIRUSHAKA Athanase mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Indi nama zakorerewe mu kibuga cya Musave mu murenge wa Gakenke, aho Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo Nzanana Dismas yabwiye Abahutu ko bagomba kwica inzoka n'amagi yose bakayamena[189].

Izo nama nta Mututsi wazikurikiranaga, kuko uwashoboraga kwibeshya yahitaga yicwa nk'uko byagendekeye Kimana wishwe bamuhoye ko yagiye mu nama yabo kandi we ari Umututsi[190].

3.1.3.2.5. Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde na Nyakinama

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, inama zishishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi zabereye ahitwa ku Murambo, mu Murenge wa Janja, Akagari ka Karukungu; zikaba akenshi zarayoborwaga na Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo Nzanana Dismas. Ubutumwa bwazitangwagamo akaba bwari ubwo kuba maso, bukangurira Abahutu ko bagomba kwikiza umwanzi. Inama yibukwa akaba ari iyabaye kuwa 8 Mata 1994.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, naho habaye inama zatangiwemo ubutumwa bushimangira urwango n'amacakubiri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Murizo hari *meeting* yo kuwa 28 Nyakanga 1992 yahuje abarwanashyaka ba CDR iyobowe na Perezida w'iryo shyaka muri Komini Nyakinama Harerimana Gaspard. Iyo nama yateraniye ku biro bya Komini Nyakinama, ikaba yari ihuje abarwanashyaka ba CDR n'Impuzamugambi zo muri Komini Nyakinama. Ikaba yaritabiriwe kandi n'abarwanashyaka ba CDR ku rwego rwa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, abaturutse i Kigali no muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda ishami rya Nyakinama. Muri iyo nama, abarwanashyaka ba CDR

189 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMPUNGA Claudine mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

190 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGIRABANYIGINYA Casmir mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

bagaragarijwe icyo bahamagarirwa gukora hakurikijwe intego n'impamvu yatumye ishyaka rya CDR rishyirwaho. Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandikomvugo y'inama, abarwanashyaka ba CDR bibukijwe ko ibikorwa byabo ari:

- Kwamamaza intego ya mbere ya CDR ijyanye no kunga ubumbwe bw'ubwoko bw'Abahutu;

- Kwamamaza ko Abahutu bagomba kumenya ko ntacyo bapfana n'Abatutsi uretse ko bahuriye ku gihugu gusa;

- Kwamamaza ko muri CDR hagomba kwinjiramo ubwoko bw'Abahutu gusa, byaba ngombwa n'Abatwa bakazamo, ariko nta Mututsi dushaka mu ishyaka ryacu;

Muri iyo nama, abayitabiriwe basobanuriwe ko mu gihe Abahutu batari basobanukirwa neza n'amahame remezo yabo (bavugaga CDR), bari gutegura *program* irambuye ishyaka CDR izifashisha icengeza amatwara yaryo mu baturage b'Abahutu kugira ngo bamenye akamaro karyo n'icyo baritezeho.

Ishyaka rya CDR ryamenyekanye muri Komini Nyakinama kuwa 7 Kamena 1992 ubwo hatorwaga Komite yo ku rwego rwa Komini igizwe na:

- Perezida: Harerimana Gaspard wakomokaga muri Serire Kavunda, Segiteri Kabere I

- Vice-Perezida: Mfumufore Canisius wakomokaga muri Serire Bugese, Segiteri Kanza

- Umwanditsi : Twahirwa Jean Baptiste wakomokaga muri Serire Buhamo, Segiteri Kabere II

- Umubitsi: Munyariboneye Francois

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, kugaragaza ko Abatutsi ari babi byagarutsweho mu nama y'abaturage yo kuwa 1 Nyakanga

1993, inama yateranye ku munsi hizihizwaga isabukuru ya 31 y'Ubwigenge. Inama yabereye ku biro bya Komini Nyakinama, ikaba yari iyobowe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama bwana Hatangimana François. Iyo nama yari yatumiwemo abayobozi b'amashyaka 5 yakoreraga muri Komini (MRND, MDR, CDR, PSD, Parti Démocrate). Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandikomvugo y'inama, mu ijambo Perezida wa MRND muri Komini Nyakinama bwana Ntamushobora Pierre yagejeje ku bitabiriye inama yashimangiye urwango rw'igihe kirekire ruri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Mu ijambo rye yasobanuye « *uburyo Abami b'Abahutu bakoraga n'ukuntu Abatutsi bamaze kubacengera babahiritse bakabita abahinza* ». Yakomeje asobanura ko « *Abatutsi bagiye bagaba inka, babonye Abahutu bamaze kugera ku butegetsi batangira kugaba ibitero aho abami b'Abahutu bategekaga, maze baratsinda bakoresha uburetwa* »[191]. Abaturage bari aho mu nama babyakira batyo kuko nta muyobozi n'umwe wigeze anyomoza ibyo avuze.

Kugaragaza ko Abatutsi ari babi byagiye bigarukwaho mu nama zitandukanye zabaga zakoreshejwe n'ubuyobozi bwite bwa Leta ndetse n'amashyaka atandukanye hirya no hino mu makomini bagamije gushimangira urwango hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, hari kandi inama yabereye ku mashuri abanza ya Nyakinama ya I yari iyobowe na Burugumesitiri Hatangimana Francois. Mu bitabiriye iyo nama harimo Musekura Boniface wari umwarimu akaba mwene Semivumbi, Murenzi Tharcisse wari Konseye, Doromo, Munyagaju n'abandi baturage.

Hari indi nama yabereye kuri Komini ihuje Burugumesitiri n'Abakozi ba Komini. Nyuma y'inama hakozwe lisiti y'abagombaga kwicwa, ikozwe na Mbonyurwanda Pierre, Niyitegeka Toussain, Munyaneza Florien na Rukebesha. Mu bashyizwe kuri Lisiti y'abagomba kwicwa harimo Nsenga Joseph,

191 Nyakinama, Inyandikomvugo y'inama yo kuwa 1/7/1993.

Mutsobe Genevieve, Mukayiranga Charlotte, Mvuyekure Jean Bosco, Nyirantirenganya Claudette, Uwizeyimana Clément, Nkurunziza Olivier, Mutuminka Lucretia, Niyigena Marie Grace, Nshimiyimana JC, Igirimpuhwe, Vilgine, Nsengumukiza Louis, Nsengarugira Jmv, Mukarugira Marie Josée, Nsengiyumva Charles, Nsengiyakare Desiré. Aba bose bakaba bari batuye mu Murenge wa Nkotsi, Akagari ka Rusiri.

3.1.3.3. Mu rwego rwa Segiteri

Abayobozi ba Segiteri bari bazwi ku izina rya Konseye bayoboye inama zitandukanye muri Segiteri zabo. Bagendeye ku mabwiriza bahabwaga n'abayobozi ba Komini bakoresheje inama zitandukanye, babwira abaturage bayobora ko Igihugu cyatewe n'umwanzi waturutse mu gihugu cya Uganda. Bakavuga ko uwo atariwe mwanzi Igihugu gifite gusa, ko ahubwo ikibazo kihari ari benewabo bamufasha kugira ngo bice Abahutu. Ubutumwa bwatangirwaga muri izo nama bwashishikarizaga Abahutu kuba maso bakamenya umwanzi wabo, babumvisha ko umwanzi w' Igihugu ari Umututsi.

Abayobozi bumvishaga abaturage b'Abahutu ko abateye Igihugu ari Abatutsi bahunze 1959 kandi ko icyo bagamije ari ukugarura ingoma ya cyami, Abahutu bose bagasubira mu buretwa. Umutangabuhamya abisobanura muri aya magambo :

> Nyuma y'itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 Inkotanyi zitangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu, Konseye wa Segiteri Tubungo muri Komini ya Nyamutera yakoresheje inama abaturage ababwira ko Inkotanyi zateye kandi ko ari Abatutsi bahunze mu 1959, ko icyo bashaka ari ukugarura ingoma ya cyami, bagasubiza Abahutu mu buretwa. Icyo kintu cyatumye abaturage bumva ko Umututsi ari umwanzi ukwiriye kurwanywa[192].

192 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSENGIMANA Alfred mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Konseye wa Segiteri Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka nawe yakoresheje inama zitandukanye muri Segiteri ye ashishikariza Abahutu kuba maso. Mu nama ze, umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yatangaje ko iyo yabaga yakoresheje inama nta Mututsi wayigeragamo kugira ngo atarogoya umugabi wabo[193].

3.1.4. Inama z'Abasirikare

Abasirikare bakuru ba FAR bakoresheje inama zitandukanye, bashimangira ko umutekano wazanywemo igitotsi n'Abatutsi. Mu gihe imirwano yahagarikwaga, RPF-Inkotanyi na Leta ya Habyarimana bari Arusha mu mishyikirano, abasirikare bo ntibahagaritse gukomeza gukoresha abaturage inama. Muri icyo gihe iyo bakoreshaga inama bavugaga ko FPR niramuka yubuye imirwano, Abatutsi bose bazashiraho. Umutangabuhamya wari *Brigadier* wa Komini Mukingo abisobanura muri aya magambo:

> Muri Mutarama 1994, *Colonel* Augustin Bizimungu ari kumwe na *Colonel* Birindabagabo na Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Bariyanga Sylvestre bakoresheje inama kuri Komini Mukingo. Muri iyo nama, *Colonel* Augustin Bizimungu yavuze ko FPR niyongera kubura imirwano, Abatutsi bose bazicwa[194].

Inama yo kuwa 15 Gashyantare 1994

Ubuyobozi bwa gisirakare bwagize uruhare rutaziguye mu gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Nk'uko byasobanuwe n'Umutangabuhamya witabiriye inama yateguriwemo umugambi wa Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri:

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193 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmas mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

194 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

> Jenoside yateguriwe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa Gisirikare kubera ko kuwa 15 Gashyantare 1994 habaye inama yayobowe na *Colonel* Gratien Kabirigi wari woherejwe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bwa Gisirikare. Inama yahuje *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin wayoboraga ingabo mu Ruhengeri*, Lieutenant Colonel* Bivugabagabo, *Major* Nzabonimpa Joseph wayoboraga EGENA, *Major* Ruhumuriza, na *Capitaine* Hasangineza wayoboraga batayo ya 73. Inama yari yatumiwemo kandi *Commandant* Ndereyimana Léandre utarabashije kwitabira inama ahagararirwa na *Sous-Lieutenant* Tuyisenge Jean de Dieu, n'abandi. Inama yatangiye saa ine (10h) irangira saa mu nani (14h)[195].

Nk'uko byavuzwe n'umutangabuhamya wari muri iyo nama, *Colonel* Gratien Kabirigi yasobanuye uburyo amasezerano ya Arusha nta gaciro afite kubera ko ingabo zose zitayishimiye; basuzumye kandi icyakorwa kugira ngo batsinde urugamba nyuma yo kumvikana ko kubura imirwano aribwo buryo bwonyine buhari bwo kuburizamo amasezerano ya Arusha.

Muri iyo nama hafatiwemo imyanzuro itandukanye, harimo:

- Guha abaturage intwaro no kubakangurira kurwanya Umututsi wese n'Umuhutu utavuga rumwe na Leta ya Habyarimana mu rwego rwo guca intege FPR-Inkotanyi ishaka gufata Igihugu;

- Guha imyitozo n'intwaro Insoresore za MRND na CDR zibumbiye mu mutwe wa TURIHOSE (*Nous sommes partout*); umutwe wari uyobowe na Ngeze Hassan mu gice cya Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Muri iyo nama *Capitaine* Hasangineza wayoboraga batayo ya 73 yasabwe gukurikirana ibijyanye n'imyitozo n'ibikoresho by'uwo mutwe.

195 Procés Verbal d'audition d'un temoin du TPIR, Case nº ICTR-98-41-T, Exhibit nº DK 82B, 13/10/2004.

- Kwica imiryango y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu yohereje abana bayo mu ngabo za FPR-Inkotanyi;

- Gushishikariza abasirikare kwitabirana umurava urugamba, barushaho gusobanurirwa ko Igihugu ari icy'Abahutu gusa, ko nta muntu n'umwe wabahatira gusaranganya ubutegetsi nk'uko byagaragaye mu masezerano ya Arusha.

Nyuma yo kumvikana ku myanzuro y'inama yavuzwe haruguru, *Colonel* Gratien Kabirigi yaratashye, abasigaye bayobowe na *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin bakomeje gusuzumira hamwe uburyo imyanzuro yafashwe igomba gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Nyuma yo kungurana ibitekerezo buri wese yahawe inshingano kugira ngo umugambi wabo ugerweho uko babyifuza:

- *Lieutenant Colonel* Bivugabagabo yasabwe gutanga imbunda zari muri sitoki ya Komini Kinigi; agakorana bya hafi na Hasani Ngeze kugira ngo hongerwe ibikoresho byahawe umutwe wa TURIHOSE.

- *Capitaine* Hasangineza wari umuyobozi wa batayo ya 73 yasabwe gufatanya na *Major* Ndekezi mu gukurikirana ibikorwa bijyanye n'imyitozo ya gisirikare ihabwa abagize Umutwe TURIHOSE, ndetse n'ibikoresho bizakenerwa n'abagize uwo mutwe.

- Buri muyobozi wa batayo ya gisirikare yasabwe gushishikariza abaturage kurwanya Umututsi uwo ari we wese n'Umuhutu wese uketsweho kuba icyitso cy'Inkotanyi.

Nyuma yo gusoza inama, imyanzuro yafashwe yahise itangira gushyirwa mu bikorwa hirya no hino muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Akaba aribwo umuryango wa *Colonel* Kanyarengwe

Alexis wiciwe muri Komini Gatonde, abarokotse bahungira mu gice cyari cyarafashwe na FPR-Inkotanyi[196].

3.2. Gutegura lisiti y'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa

Abayobozi mu nzego zitandukanye bagize uruhare mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi, bakoresha inama zitandukanye aho bibandaga ku nyigisho zimakaza amacakubiri, ari nako hategurwa urutonde rw'abagomba kwicwa.

Nk'uko byavugiwe imbere y'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), mu rubanza ubushinjacyaha bwaregagamo Juvénal Kajelijeli, umutangabuhamya wahawe inyito ya GAP yavuze ko yibuka inama ebyiri zabereye muri Komini Mukingo zigategurirwamo amalisiti yariho amazina y'Abatutsi bagombaga kwicwa. Yabisobanuye muri aya magambo:

> Juvénal Kajelijeli yatumije inama ya mbere yabaye mu Ukwakira cyangwa Ugushyingo 1990. Abayobozi ba Segiteri zose bayitumiwemo. GAP avuga ko inama iba yari ahagaze ku rugi rw'icyumba yaberagamo, bityo akaba yarabashaga kumva ibyayivugirwagamo. Abayobozi bari muri iyo nama bateguye urutonde rw'amazina y'abantu bagomba gushakishwa bagafatwa, barimo Gasahane, Kaderevu, Kabango, Segahwege, Rudatinya, Bukumba, Biniga, Sabini, Mutanguha, Ndayambaje, Gihoza, Karyango, Bahiza, Bernard, Kabanda na Ngango. Nyuma y'inama, Abatutsi bari kuri urwo rutonde barafashwe ariko baje kurekurwa. Nyuma y'inama kandi Abakonseye b'amasegiteri anyuranye bari bayitabiriye nabo bahamagaje abayobozi b'amaserire maze babamenyesha ko bagomba gushakisha Abatutsi bose

196 Procès Verbal d'audition d'un témoin du TPIR, Case nº ICTR-98-41-T, Exhibit No DK 82B, 13/10/2004.

> bize bo muri Serire zabo. Ubwo intambara yuburaga mu mwaka wa 1991, habaye inama ya kabiri muri Mutarama cyangwa Gashyantare 1991. Nyuma y'inama ba bantu bavuzwe haruguru bongeye gufatwa baricwa[197].

Muri izo nama, abantu bakomeye barimo Kajelijeli na Minisitiri Joseph Nzirorera bagiye bafata amagambo bagashishikariza abazitabiriye, biganjemo abayoboke ba MRND n'Abahutu, kugaba ibitero ku Batutsi no kubatsembatsemba.

Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi ukomoka mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe yashimangiye ko Depite Munyaruyenzi Télésphore yashishikaye cyane mu kunoza urutonde rw'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa. Nyuma yo kunoza urutonde, rwahitaga rushyikirizwa inzego z'ubuyobozi za gisivili na gisirikare, kugirango umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi uzorohere Interahamwe[198].

3.3. Gushyiraho imitwe yitwara gisirikare mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Nk'uko Dr. Bizimana yabigarutseho mu gitabo « Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda, (2014) », igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho imitwe yitwara gisirikare no guha abaturage imbunda mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri cyazanywe na Munyangoga Eugène wari Umuyobozi Mukuru w'Ibiro by'Iperereza muri iyo Perefegitura. Ku itariki ya 18 Werurwe 1991, nyuma y'amezi atanu ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi zitangije urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu, Munyangoga Eugène yandikiye Umuyobozi we i Kigali amugezaho igitekerezo yagize

197 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case n° ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji 134-135, Igika cya 440.

198 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAYIZERA Marthe mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

cyo guha intwaro abaturage bo muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Iyo nyandiko ya Munyangoga Eugène itangira ivuga ko mu gihe cyose Inyenzi zitari zemera gutaha mu mahoro, zigahitamo gukomeza kurwana ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda, ngo arifuza gutanga igitekerezo cyatuma ibyo bicika burundu.

Munyangoga Eugène avuga ko urubyiruko rufite hagati y'imyaka 18 na 25 rufite imbaraga n'ibigango rwagombye guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikare hifashishijwe abategetsi bo mu nzego z'ibanze : Burugumesitiri, Konseye na ba Resiponsabure. Munyangoga Eugène akomeza avuga ko nyuma y'iyo myitozo, abo basore bagomba kugaruka iwabo ku ivuko, bagahabwa intwaro, ariko bagakomeza kujya bambara imyenda ya gisivili. Asobanura ko icyo gikorwa kigomba gutangirira muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, mu makomini yegereye umupaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda ariyo Komini Kinigi cyane cyane muri Segiteri Nyarugira, Bisate, Kanyamiheto, Nyabitsinde, Kabwende, Kagano na Gasiza; Komini Nkumba cyane cyane muri Segiteri Gatete, Musanzu na Rutambo; Komini Kidaho cyane cyane muri Segiteri Gitaraga, Burambi, Cyanika, Butenga na Kagogi; na Komini Butaro cyane cyane muri Segiteri Rugendabase, Rutovu, Kandoyi, Butandi na Buhita.

Munyangoga Eugène yasobanuye ko aba bantu bazagira akamaro kanini mu kunganira ubutegetsi bwa Leta na gisirikare kandi ko nta n'ikintu kinini bizasaba Leta kuko nta mushahara izabatangaho. Yongeyeho ko igikorwa nk'icyo kizaca Inkotanyi intege ngo kuko zitwikira ijoro zije kwiba no kwica, bityo zikaba zitazongera kubitinyuka igihe zizaba zizi neza ko hari insoresore mu baturage zifite imbunda kandi zahawe imyitozo ya Gisirikare.

Munyangoga Eugène yakomeje ashimangira ko mu Ruhengeri ariho hakwiye gutangirira icyo gikorwa, hanyuma babona bigenda neza kigakwizwa mu yandi ma Perefegitura yose y' u Rwanda. Asoza avuga ko ba Burugumesitiri bagomba kugikangurirwa bagafatanya n'abakuru b'ingabo kucyinoza no kugishyira mu bikorwa mu buryo bwihuse.

Inyandiko imaze kugera i Kigali ku muyobozi ushinzwe guhuza imirimo y'inzego z'iperereza imbere mu gihugu hose (*chef de division des reinsegnements internes*), kuwa 23 Werurwe 1992 yandikiye ibaruwa Umuyobozi Mukuru w'ibiro by'iperereza mu Gihugu, Bwana Donat Hakizimana, ashima igitekerezo cya Munyangoga Eugène, agaragaza ko agishyigikiye; asaba ko byashyirwa kuri gahunda yo gusuzumirwa mu nama y'abakozi bakuru ba serivisi y'iperereza kugira ngo yemeze uko bigomba gukorwa[199]. Ku bw'icyo gitekerezo, imitwe yitwara gisirikare yahise ishyirwaho, ihabwa imyitozo n'ibikoresho.

3.3.1. Interahamwe za MRND

Muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, *Interahamwe* zashyizweho mbere y'impera z'umwaka wa 1992. Nyuma yo gushingwa, Interahamwe zahawe imyitozo ya gisirikare, zinigishwa gukoresha imbunda na za grenades. Gushyiraho umutwe w'Interahamwe, kubaha imyitozo ya gisirikare n'intwaro byakorwaga n'abayobozi ba MRND bafatanije n'abasirikare bo mu ngabo z'u Rwanda (FAR).

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Interahamwe zashyizweho mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1993. Nk'uko byasobanuwe n'Umutangabuhamya mu Rukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda Arusha muri Tanzaniya, mu mezi ya mbere y'umwaka wa 1993 yatumijwe mu nama yayobowe na Nzirorera Joseph na Kajelijeli Juvénal[200].

199 Bizimana Jean Damascène, 2014, *Inzira ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda*, Kigali, Paji 213-214.

200 Juvénal Kajelijeli yabaye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuva mu 1988 kugeza muri Gashyantare 1993. Juvénal Kajelijeli amaze kuvanwa ku mwanya w'Ububurugumesitiri yasimbuwe na Burugumesitiri Semahane Félcien, na we wasimbuwe na Harerimana Emmanuel wapfuye urupfu rutunguranye kuwa 8 Mata 199. Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Harerimana Emmanuel, Juvénal Kajelijeli yabaye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo, ku nshuro ya kabiri, kuva ku itariki ya 26 Kamena 1994, umwanya yagumyeho kugeza hagati muri Nyakanga 1994.

Muri iyo nama Joseph Nzirorera yasobanuriye abayitabiriye ko hagiye gushyirwaho « *umutwe w'urubyiruko rufite imyenda iruranga yihariye rwo kubafasha gushakashaka ibyitso »*. Kajelijeli amwunganira avuga ko « *byaba byiza urwo rubyiruko rubafashije gushakashaka ibyitso bisigaye, kubera ko ibyinshi muri byo cyangwa iby'ingenzi byari byaramaze kwicwa »*[201]

Juvénal Kajelijeli akaba yarabaye umwe mu bashinze kandi bakayobora umutwe w'Interahamwe za MRND kugera muri Nyakanga 1994, akaba yarajyaga inama kenshi na Joseph Nzirorera wari Umunyabanga mukuru wa MRND mu rwego rw'Igihugu ku bijyanye n'imyitozo ya gisirikare, intwaro n'imyambaro byahabwaga Interahamwe, no ku birebana no gukwirakwiza amalisiti y'Abatutsi bagombaga kwicwa[202]. Nk'uko byemezwa n'umutangabuhamya twaganiriye, Juvénal Kajelijeli yashishikariye igikorwa cyo gushyiraho Interahamwe, akurikirana imyitozo yazo no kuziha intwaro[203].

Nyuma yo gushinga umutwe w'Interahamwe muri Komini Mukingo, hashyizweho ubuyobozi bwazo. Niyigaba Michel niwe wabaye Perezida, yungirizwa na Dusabimana; Ndayisaba Noel aba umwanditsi naho Habyarimana aba umubitsi. *Vice President* Dusabimana yaje gusimburwa na Rukundo kubera ko atakundaga kuboneka[204].

Ku ikubitiro hashyizweho Interahamwe 80 muri Komini Mukingo, zihabwa imyitozo ihagije. Izi nterahamwe zagenderaga ku mabwiriza zahabwaga na Kajelijeli yo gufasha cyane cyane

201 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case n° ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 90-91, Igika cya 287, 288

202 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case n° ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 12, Igika cya 19.

203 Ikiganiro Abashakashatsi bagiranye na BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

204 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Joseph Nzirorera, Paji 34, Igika cya 170

mu gikorwa cyo gushakisha ibyitso. Nyuma uyu mutwe waje kwagurwa, hinjiramo izindi nterahamwe zigera kuri 600. Kajelijeli akaba ariwe watunganije imikorere y'izi nterahamwe mbere na nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana[205].

Uretse Interahamwe zo muri Komini Mukingo, Kajelijeli niwe wahaga amabwiriza Interahamwe zo muri Komini Nkuli guhera ku itariki ya 1 Mutarama 1994 kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994.

3.3.2. Umutwe w'Amahindure

Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yarimo kandi «*Umutwe w'Amahindure* » wavukiye mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko Burugumesitiri Juvénal Kajelijeli ariwe washinze umutwe w'Amahindure afatanije na Minisitiri Nzirorera Joseph, *Colonel* Ntibitura na *Adjudant chef* Karorero Charles wahoze ari mu ngabo z'u Rwanda[206].

Abatangabuhamya twaganiriye basobanura ko babanje gushinga umutwe w'Interahamwe nyuma haza gushingwa uw'Amahindure kugira ngo bongere umubare w'urubyiruko rwari mu nterahamwe. Umutwe w'Amahindure wari ugizwe n'insoresore zigera kuri 300[207].

Umutwe w'Amahindure washinzwe mu 1993 nyuma y'igitero cya RPF-Inkotanyi cyo kuwa 8 Gashyantare 1993, igitero cyakubise incuro ingabo za FAR zikwira imishwaro, Inkotanyi zigarurira ibice bitandukanye bya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri n'ahandi.

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205 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case nº ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 124, Igika cya 403.

206 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case nº ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 102, Igika cya 334.

207 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

Bafatije n'Interahamwe, abagize umutwe w'Amahindure bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 cyane cyane mu bwicanyi bwabereye kuri Paruwasi ya Busogo, mu Kigo cy'Ababikira cya Busogo mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo no mu bice bitandukanye bya Komini Nkuli. Abagize umutwe w'Amahindure bagize kandi uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri *Cour d'Appel* ya Ruhengeri kuwa 14 Mata 1994.

3.3.3. Virunga Force

Usibye Intarahamwe n'amahindure, hashyizweho kandi undi mutwe witwara gisirikare witwa « *Virunga Force »*. Nk'uko byasobanuwe n'Umutangabuhamya GAO imbere y'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR), igihe Juvénal Kajelijeli yari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo yafatanyije n'abandi bayobozi gushinga ishami rya MRND ryiswe Umutwe wo kwirwanaho kw'abaturage cyangwa *«Umutwe wa Virunga »,* ukaba wari ushinzwe kurinda abaturage. Yagize ati « *uwo mutwe wari ushinzwe kurinda abaturage, abawugize bari barahawe imyitozo yo gukoresha imbunda. Nyuma ariko abari bawugize ni bo bishe abaturage byitwaga ko bashinzwe kurinda »*[208].

Kimwe n'umutwe w'*Amahindure*, umutwe wa *Virunga Force* nawo washinzwe mu 1993 nyuma y'igitero cya RPF-Inkotanyi cyo kuwa 8 Gashyantare 1993.

Umutwe wa *Virunga Force* ukaba waragize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, cyane cyane mu bwicanyi bwakorewe mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo na Nkuli.

208 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case nº ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji 102-103, Igika cya 335.

3.3.4. Umutwe w'Abazulu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, hashinzwe kandi « *Umutwe w'Abazulu »* wiyongera ku nterahamwe zari hose mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Uyu mutwe ukaba waratorejwe mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Bigogwe na Mukamira. Abagize uyu mutwe bagize uruhare rukomeye mu kwica Abatutsi. Akenshi bazaga gutwara Abatutsi mu ijoro, bakajya kubicira ahantu hatazwi. Abagize umutwe w'Abazuru bakunze kugaragara mu bikorwa byo gusahura, gutoteza no kurigisa abitwaga ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994, Abazuru bafatanije n'indi mitwe nk'Interahamwe, Turihose na Virunga Force, bica Abatutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli na Mukingo[209].

3.3.5. Umutwe w'Intarumikwa

Uretse *Interahamwe*, *Amahindure*, *Virunga* n'*Abazulu* hashyizweho undi mutwe waruzwi ku izina ry'« *Intarumikwa »*. Buri Segiteri yatoranyaga abasore yizeye, ikabohereza mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, akaba ariho bafatira imyitozo, bakigishwa imbunda n'ingengabitekerezo y'urwango. Ndayambaje Jerome alias Rubasha, Mbanzabugabo n'abandi ni bamwe mu bigishiririjwe imbunda mu kigo cya Mukamira babarizwaga mu « *mutwe w'Intarumikwa »*.

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994, umutwe w'*Intarumikwa* wagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, cyane cyane mu bwicanyi bwakorewe mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli na Mukingo no mu bice bimwe bya Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

209 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

3.3.6. Umutwe w'Abadebande

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu hashyizweho kandi umutwe witwara gisirikare witwaga "*Abadebande*" washyizweho ku wa 12 Mata 1994. Mu bawutangije harimo Utazirubanda JMV, Rwagasore na Ntawukinanaryo J. Bosco. Mu bagiye muri uwo mutwe harimo: Nahimana Revelien, Nzabahiranya, Nungukiyimana, Nshakirahe, Murasandongi, Hakuzimana, Rukara, Ntamuheza, Kwisaba, Musabyiamana Theodore wari President wa MDR muri Segiteri ya Bwisha.

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994, umutwe w'*Abadebande* wagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, cyane cyane mu bwicanyi, gutwika no gusahura byakorewe mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu.

3.3.7. Umutwe wa TURIHOSE

Mbere y'uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ishyirwa mu bikorwa, hariho umutwe wari ukomeye cyane, bivugwako wari ugizwe n'Abahutu b'umwimere bakomoka ku Gisenyi witwa «TURIHOSE». Nk'uko byasobanuwe mu Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) :

> Umutwe witwara Gisirikare wahawe izina rya *Turihose* washinzwe mu Ukwakira 1992 ariko utangira gukora ku mugaragaro mu 1993. Wari umutwe ugizwe n'Abahutu b'umwimerere bakomoka mbere na mbere mu cyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi. Hassan Ngeze akaba ariwe wari uwukuriye naho *Capitaine* Hasangineza akaba ariwe wakurikiranaga imyitozo yabo[210].

Umutwe wa « Turihose » wahawe ubushobozi n'imyitozo ikomeye yo ku rwego rwo hejuru kugira ngo ugire ubumenyi buhagije mu

210 ICTR-98-41-T, Exhibit DK 82B, Procès-verbal d'audition du *Sous Lieutenant* Tuyisenge Jean de Dieu, 30/10/2000

kwica abantu benshi mu gihe gito no gukoresha imigozi bitaga *Cordelette*, uburyo bwo kwica abantu vuba babanize, gukoresha ibyuma n'ibindi (Bizimana, 2014, Paji ya 221).

Kuva mu kwezi kwa Kanama kugera mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1993, amashyaka yatoranije abasore b'intarumikwa, babohereza gukurikirana imyitozo mu Kigo cya Mukamira mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri; abarangije iyo myitozo yamaze ibyumweru birenga gato bitatu batashye bahawe ikarita ibemerera kuba mu mutwe wa «TURIHOSE ».

Uretse imyitozo yahabwaga abagize umutwe «TURIHOSE» bakomoka mu turere dutandukanye imbere mu gihugu, hari abatoranijwe boherezwa hanze y'Igihugu muri Israel na Libiya. Nk'uko umutangabuhamya XXQ yabisobanuriye Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha Rwashyiriweho u Rwanda (ICTR) :

> Bamwe muri bo bagiye gufatira amahugurwa muri Libiya, abandi bajya muri Isirayeri. Makumyabiri bagiye gukurikiranira imyitozo muri Isirayeri, abandi batandatu bajya gukurikirana imyitozo muri Libiya. Nyuma yo gufata imyitozo, baragarutse nabo batoza abandi[211].

Iyo usesenguye imikorere y'iyi mitwe yavuzwe haruguru mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, usanga umutwe w'*Interahamwe* ufite aho uhurira ha bugufi nayo, dore ko ibikorwa byayo byose byari bimwe nk'uko byemejwe n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriweho u Rwanda:

> Urugereko rwa ICTR rwanzuye ruvuga ko muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Interahamwe zashyizweho mbere y'impera z'umwaka wa 1992, naho muri Komini Mukingo zikaba zarashyizweho mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1993. Umutwe w'Interahamwe ukaba

211 ICTR-98-41-T, Retranscription du 12/10/2004, témoin XXQ

> ufite aho uhurira ha bugufi n'umutwe w'Amahindure, « *Virunga Force »* n'« uw'Uruyange *»*, ndetse ko rimwe na rimwe iyo mitwe yagendaga ikora bimwe. Iyo sano ikaba yarahuriweho n'abatangabuhamya bashinja (GDD na GHB) n'abashinjura (RGM). Mu buhamya bwe, GDD yavuze ko Kajelijeli yatoje Interahamwe zo muri « *batayo y'Amahindure »* zari zizwi no ku izina rya « *Virunga Force ».* GBH yunzemo agaragaza ko habanje gushingwa umutwe w'Interahamwe, noneho nyuma haza gushingwa uw' « *Amahindure »* kugira ngo bongere umubare w'urwo rubyiruko[212].

3.3.8. Umutwe wa Gashagari

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyamutera, hashyizweho umutwe witwaraga gisirikare witwaga «*Gashagari »*, ukaba warahawe imbunda. Abagize uwo mutwe nibo bashimutaga Abatutsi no kubanyaga ibyabo. Mu bayobozi b'uyu mutwe hari Twagiramungu Boniface wari umwarimu ku Nganzo akaba yari Perezida wa MRND muri Segiteri ya Tubungo. Jean Baptiste wari *inspecteur* w'amashuri abanza nawe yari umwe mu bayobozi b'uyu mutwe[213].

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994, umutwe wa *Gashagari* wagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, cyane cyane mu bwicanyi, gutwika no gusahura byakorewe mu yahoze ari Komini Nyamutera.

212 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case no ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji 120-121

213 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSENGIMANA Alfred mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

3.4. Guha imyitozo no kwigisha imbunda imitwe yitwara gisirikare

Mu buryo bwo gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, guhera mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1992 kugeza mu ntangirio z'umwaka wa 1994, Interahamwe za MRND n'indi mitwe yitwara gisirikare bahawe imyitozo ya gisirikare ihoraho, batorezwa mu bigo bya gisirikare n'ahandi habaga haratoranijwe[214]. Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, iyo myitozo yatangiwe mu Kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira no muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Imyitozo ikaba yaratangwaga n'Abasirikare b'u Rwanda bafatanije n'ingabo z'Abafaransa. Kubera iyo mpamvu, icyari urubyiruko rw'ishyaka cyahindutse umutwe witwara gisirikare.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli na Mukingo ibikorwa byo gutoza Interahamwe byari bikuriwe na Juvénal Kajelijeli, anashinzwe gucengeza amatwara ya politiki; akaba yari yungirijwe na Ajida Shefu Karorero wakomokaga muri Komini Nkuli wari ushinzwe imyitozo ngororamubiri.

Imyitozo yatangwaga akenshi n'abari barasezerewe mu gisirikare bitaga aba *reservistes*. Abatozwaga bigiraga ku biti byababaga byahawe ishusho y'imbunda. Umwe mu batoje Interahamwe watanze ubuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yasobanuye ko gutoza Interahamwe mu buryo buzwi (*official*) byatangiye muri Mutarama 1993:

> Kuva muri Mutarama 1993, ibikorwa byo gutoza Interahamwe nibwo byabaye *official*. Njye nari mubigishaga izo nterahamwe. Icyo gihe *Colonel* Ntibitura wari ukuriye *défence civile*, yari yazanye na Nzirorera Joseph, *Colonel* Bizimungu na *Colonel* Bivugabagabo maze batubwira ko tugomba gushaka

214 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji 51-73.

> Interahamwe. Mu gukora *recrutement*, habaga hari umuntu ukuriye ishyaka rya MRND muri Segiteri niwe watoranyaga insoresore zagombaga gutozwa ibya gisirikare. Imyitozo yose yaberaga kuri Komini. Bazaga mu gitondo, saa sita bakaba batashye. Imyitozo yamaraga ukwezi, nyuma yo gutozwa bajyaga kurasa mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira[215].

Umwe mu bitabiriye iyo myitozo mu 1993 avuga ko bigishijwe gukoresha imbunda na za grenades zirimo grenades za *M26* na grenades z'inshinwa; imbunda zitwa Kalashnikov, n'izitwa R4. Kajelijeli akaba yari akuriye abatangagaga imyitozo kandi ashinzwe gucengeza amatwara ya politiki. Juvénal Kajelijeli buri munsi yageraga ku kibuga cyaberagaho imyitozo, ashishikariza Interahamwe kurangiza imyitozo vuba kugira ngo azohereze mu birunga kurwana n'Inkotanyi, Inyenzi[216].

Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi wabaye umusirikare wa FAR yasobanuye ko muri Mutarama 1993, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli Gatsimbanyi Dominique yohereje abasore bagera kuri makumyabiri i Gabiro kujya gutozwa ibya gisirikare. Aboherezwaga i Gabiro bahabwaga imyitozo ya gisirikare n'inyigisho za propagande ya MRND, ariko cyane cyane bababwiraga ko bagomba gufata iya mbere mu kurwanya umwanzi n'ibyitso bye. Aba bakaba baravuyemo Interahamwe zikomeye, zatinyuye izindi mu gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994[217].

Usibye Interahamwe, umutwe w'Amahindure wari ugizwe n'insoresore zigera kuri 300 nawo wafatiye imyitozo mu kigo

215 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

216 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case no ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 109, Igika cya 360.

217 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Imyitozo bayihabwaga mu gihe cy'amezi abiri. Mu batangaga imyitozo harimo *Adjudant chef* Karorero Joseph afataranije na *premier sergeant* Ntuyenabo André, wakomokaga muri Segiteri ya Mukarnira, *Sergeant* Karemera wakomokaga muri Segiteri Musumba, *caporal* Semanza, *caporal* Musafiri na Bimenya mwene Sebigori. Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli Gasimbanyi Dominique akaba yarakurikiraniraga hafi imyitozo yahabwaga Amahindure.

By'umwihariko, mu kigo cya Mukamira, abasirikare b'Abafaransa bafashije bikomeye mu gutanga imyitozo yahabwaga abasirikare n'Interahamwe, ariko bakabatoza mu byiciro bitandukanye. Nk'uko bisobanurwa na Nturanyenabo Jean-Paul, umusirikare wabaga mu Kigo cya Mukamira kuva mu 1992, uretse imyitozo Abasirikare b'Abafaransa bo mu mutwe wa DAMI bahaga Abasirikare basanzwe mu ikoreshwa rya *mortiers 81 et 105 millimètres*, bafashe kandi umwanya uhagije wo gutoza Interahamwe:

> Hari indi Kompanyi ya DAMI yari ishinzwe guha imyitozo abasivile. Babigishaga uburyo bitwara imbere y'Abaturage, uburyo bwo kwica, kurwana udafite ibikoresho, kurwanisha ibyuma, imipanga, n'ibindi bikoresho bya gakondo. Nabashije kumenya bamwe muri abo basivile. Harimo Mabuye wakoraga mu ruganda rwa Bralirwa, yari uw'i Gisenyi. Harimo undi muntu witwaga Perusi, arazwi cyane mu Ruhengeri kubera uruhare yagize muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Harimo kandi Nisengwe Orose, ndamuzi. Harimo undi witwaga Muhimana Jean Damascène, twakomokaga muri Komini imwe; abo narabiboneye. Twari mu gice cyacu twiga imbunda navuze haruguru, ariko najyaga kubasura aho batorezwaga. Bambwiye ko boherejwe mu rwego rw'amashyaka. Bari urubyiruko ruhabwa imyitozo kugira ngo rwinjijwe mu itsinda rya «TURIHOSE». Babaga bigishwa kwirwanaho. Bigishwaga ko

> umwanzi ari Umututsi wese uba mu gihugu, ko igihe kigeze ngo bamenye kwirwanaho. Nyuma baje kurangiza amahugurwa mbere yacu, basubizwa muri Komini bakomokamo. Indege ya Perezida Habyarimana imaze guhanuka, nibo bafashe iyambere mu gushyiraho bariyeri, baziyobora bitwaje imbunda, ibyuma n'imipanga. Igihe cyari kigeze cyo kwibasira Abatutsi, ubwo batangira kubica. Niyo mpamvu hari abasivile bakoraga mu bigo bitandukanye nka Bralirwa n'ahandi bahise bafata imbunda bakitabira ubwicanyi; abantu bakibaza aho bigiye gukoresha imbunda bikabayobora, kandi bari barazigishijwe mbere[218].

Nisengwe Orose, umwe mu baherewe amahugurwa mu Kigo cya Gisirikare cya Mukamira avuga ko yitabiriye imyitozo yabereye mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira muri Werurwe 1992. Aho mu Kigo cya Mukamira niho yahuye n'Abasirikare b'Abafaransa bagenzuraga uburyo imyitozo itangwa. Bahafatiye imyitozo yo kurasa, banigishwa kurwana nta ntwaro, kwiyoberanya kuwo ugiye kwica no kurwanisha ibyuma. Bahafatiye kandi amahugurwa ashimangira urwango, aho bigishwaga ko Umututsi ari umwanzi w'Umuhutu. Barangije gufata imyitozo mu Kigo cya Mukamira, bahawe amakarita y'itsinda rya «TURIHOSE», nyuma boherejwe mu mujyi wa Gisenyi baruhukira kuri *Stade* Umuganda. Bahageze, bashyizwe mu matsinda mato mato, bamwe boherezwa i Kigali, abandi basubira iwabo; aho bagize uruhare mu gushyiraho za bariyeri mu gihe cya Jenoside[219].

Muhimana Jean Damascène, umwe mu bireze bakemera ibyaha bya Jenoside, nawe avuga ko akomeza asobanura uburyo bahawe imyitozo mu kigo cya Mukamira:

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218 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 64; Témoin Auditionné le 11/12/2006.

219 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 65.

> Twageze mu Kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira mu kwezi kwa 8 cyangwa ukwa 9 1993. Imyitozo yamaze hagati y'ibyumweru bitatu cyangwa bine. Twari abasore bagera kuri 200 bigaragara ko batoranijwe kubera ibigango n'ingufu bafite. Abenshi bari bambaye imyenda isanzwe ya gisivili, abandi hari ababaga bambaye amapantalo ashaje cyangwa amashatsi ya gisirikare bizaniye, kandi bishakishirije. Twese twagombaga gutozwa kuba Interahamwe, kandi twese twabaga mu kigo. Kubera ko twari benshi, twakoze amatsinda y'abantu bake bake, batarenze 30. Buri tsinda ryabaga rifite umusirikare wa FAR ugomba kuryigisha. Umwarimu w'itsinda nabarizwagamo yitwaga Habyarimana, akaba yari Kaporali. Buri gitondo, abasirikare b'Abanyarwanda baduhaga imyitozo bagombaga kubanza kujya gufata amabwiriza mu biro by'Umusirikare w'Umufaransa, wari Kapiteni. Buri gitondo, Abafaransa nibo baherezaga abaduha imyitozo imbunda. Hari abandi basirikare batatu b'Abafaransa bari bashinzwe gukurikirana uburyo imyitozo itangwa. Nyuma yo kurangiza imyitozo mu kigo cya Mukamira, twahawe amakarita y'itsinda rya TURIHOSE[220].

Urahare rw'Abafaransa mu gutoza Interahamwe ntirwagarukiye mu Kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira gusa. Kubera ko babaga mu nyubako za Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, bagize na none uruhare rukomeye mu gutoza no gukurikirana imyitozo y'Interahamwe yabereye muri Nyakinama, mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, gutoza Interahamwe ni igikorwa cyahawe agaciro n'ingufu nyinshi. Imyitozo yatangiwe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama guhera mu mwaka wa 1992.

220 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 65-66, Témoin auditionné le 12/12/2006.

Imyitozo yatangwaga n'abasirikare b'u Rwanda bafatanije n'Abasirikare b'Abafaransa. Nk'uko byemejwe na *Colonel* Ndamage Martin wahoze mu ngabo za FAR, abasirikare b'Abafaransa bari bayobowe na *Colonel* Chollet bari ku isonga mu gutanga imyitozo yahabwaga Interahamwe ku kibuga cy'umupira w'amaguru cya Kaminuza ya Nyakinama (Bizimana, 2014, Paji 220). Iyi Kaminuza yari yubatse hafi y'ibiro bya Komini Nyakinama.

Interahamwe zahabwaga imyitozo ziri kumwe n'abasirikare b'u Rwanda bashya nabo babaga baje gutozwa. Ariko Interahamwe zo zatozwaga zambaye imyenda ya gisivili ari nabyo byatumaga babasha kubatandukanya. Ndabakenga Gérard wari umunyeshuri muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama kuva kuva mu 1992 kugera mu 1993, asobanura uburyo Interahamwe zatozwaga:

> Abasivire bahabwaga imyitozo ku kibuga cy'umupira w'amaguru cya Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, bari abaturage bigishwa gukoresha imbunda n'ibindi bikorwa bya gisirikare nko kuzana umuntu amaboko ari inyuma, uburyo bwo kwica, n'ibindi. Mu gihe barangizaga kwiga gusambura no guteranya imbunda, kuzana abantu baboshye, bakomerezaga ku kibuga gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo bamaze kwiga. Hari aho bajyaga kwigira kurasa hitwa Muko. Twababaga twumva urusaku rw'imbunda. Mu bitabiriye imyitozo harimo abo nari nzi, harimo Fungaroho, undi witwaga Mihati, na Makamba. Uyu Makamba yakoraga kuri Kaminuza, yari ashinzwe gukoresha imashini ifotora impapuro, niyo mpamvu nari muzi neza. Mihati yari afite akabari hafi ya Kaminuza. Niho twajyaga mu gihe twababaga tudashaka kujya kunywera muri *Cantine* ya Kaminuza. Fungaroho we yakoraga mu kabari ka Mihati. Ni muri ubwo buryo nari nsanzwe mpazi kuko akenshi twahuriraga aho mu runywero. (…). Mu gihe cy'amahugurwa, imyenda niyo yerekanaga abasirikare n'abandi. Abasirikare babaga bambaye

> umwenda wabo wabugenewe (uniforme), abandi bo wasangaga bambaye imyenda isanzwe, ama pentalon azinze aribyo byerekanaga ko ari abasivile[221].

Nsekanabo Twayibu umwe mu nterahamwe zatorejwe mu Bigogwe no muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama nawe asobanura imyitozo n'inyigisho baherewe i Nyakinama:

> Mu 1993, nitabiriye imyitozo yabereye muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Twageraga ku basore 100. Twahawe imyitozo mu gihe cy'amezi abiri. Muri icyo gihe, Abafaransa badutozaga bahoraga babaza niba nta Batutsi baturimo. Babibazaga abatwigishaga b'Abanyarwanda nyuma nabo bakabitubaza. Bavugaga ko twe turi aba « CRAP », itsinda kabuhariwe mu kwica, kandi ryahuguwe kwica rititwaje ibikoresho. I Nyakinama batubwiraga ko abo duhanganye nabo ari Abatutsi bashaka kuzana ururimi rw'Icyongereza mu Rwanda. Batubazaga niba tubyemera, natwe tugasubiza ko tutabyemera. Nyuma bakatubwira ko tugomba kubarwanya rero. Turangije amahugurwa, batubajije niba tuzi umwanzi dufite, twese dusubiza ko tumuzi neza. Nyuma basaba abazi neza umwanzi ko tujya hamwe, maze bahita baduha ibyuma na *grenade*. Babihaye gusa aba « CRAP ». Nyuma baduhaye ubutumwa ko tugomba gutangira gushaka umwanzi duhereye kubo tubana nabo. Ubwo twahise twurira imodoka za ONATRACOM, zidusubiza aho twakomokaga. Byari nka saa satu z'umugoroba mu 1993. Tugeze aho dukomoka, natwe twatangiye kwigisha Interahamwe n'insoresore za CDR[222].

221 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 62.

222 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 66

Kwigisha imbunda abaturage n'igikorwa cyahabwaga agaciro cyane. Nk'uko bigaragara mu ibaruwa yo kuwa 16 Ukuboza 1993 Perezida wa MDR muri Komini Nyakinama, bwana Riberakurora Valens, yandikiye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama, yamusabye ko kwigisha abaturage imbunda byakorwa n'abahagarariye amashyaka ku rwego rwa za Segiteri ntibikorwe gusa n'abahagarariye ishyaka rya MRND, ngo kubera ko abarwanashyaka batari aba MRND, bazisanga batarize imbunda.

Icyifuzo cya Riberakurora Valens cyari gisanzwe kizwi n'ubuyobozi bwa Komini Nyakinama kandi cyarafatiwe umwanzuro nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandikomvuyo y'inama y'umutekano yo kuwa 11 Ukuboza 1993, aho Burugumesitiri yasobanuye ko hari abantu bari baratoranijwe kuzatozwa imbunda ariko bakaba barasanze ari abo mu ishyaka rimwe rya MRND. Muri iyo nama bikaba byaranzuwe ko bagomba kwigira hamwe bagashaka abaturage batanu (5) b'inyangamugayo bumvikanyweho n'amashayaka yose muri buri Serire maze akaba aribo bazatozwa gukoresha imbunda; abo bantu bakaba babonetse mu minsi ibiri gusa (2), bitarenze tariki ya 13 Ukuboza 1993.

Muri iyo nama, uhagariye MRND muri Komini Nyakinama, Ntamushobora Pierre, yasobanuye ko kwigisha abaturage imbunda ari byiza, anatanga icyifuzo ko abazatoranywa nibamara guhugurwa bazajya baterwa inkunga n'abaturage bakoresheje intwaro za gihanga (*armes traditionnelles*) bityo nabo bakazahugurwa mu gukoresha izo ntwaro za gihanga babifashijwemo n'abasaza babizi. Umuyobozi w'Inama (Burugumesitiri) n'abari mu nama bose bashyigikiye icyo gitekerezo bavuga ko umuntu yitegura ataraterwa kubera ko nta witegura yatewe[223]. Ibi bikaba bigaragaza inkomoko n'ikoreshwa ry'intwaro gakondo muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Interahamwe zambaraga iniforume iziranga, zidoze mu gitenge cy'amabara y'icyatsi

223 Nyakinama, Inyandikomvugo y'inama yo kuwa 11/12/1993.

kibisi n'umuhondo kandi iriho ikirango cya MRND. Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli ariwe washyikirizaga iniforume Interahamwe zo muri Komini Mukingo, akaba yarabikoze ahagana mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 ku isoko rya Byangabo. Buri Nterahamwe kandi yaje no guhabwa ikarita iriho ifoto yayo.

Mu gihe cy'ibitero, abagize umutwe w'Amahindure nabo babaga bambaye imyenda y'Interahamwe za MRND. Hari abandi bambaraga ingofero zifite amabara y'umutuku n'umukara biyitaga aba MDR- Parmehutu.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe Interahamwe zaturukaga muri Komini Mukingo na Komini Kinigi zigahura n'iza Komini Kigombe zikajya kwitoreza muri Komini Nyakinama, abandi bagatorezwa ahitwa Mpenge no kuri Stade ya Ruhengeri. Bamwe mu batojwe mu nterahamwe twavuga Bizimana, Pierre, Bijereri, Ndererabanzi Jean, Safari, Pele mwene Rwabayidadi n'abandi.

Interahamwe zatorezwaga kandi ahitwa mu Cyabarika. Interahamwe zatozwaga zibwirwa ko bagiye kubigisha imbunda nyuma bakimenya, bakajya birwanaho aho bari hose kandi bakikiza umwanzi. Aha umwanzi ntawundi bavugaga uretse Umututsi. Muri icyo gihe, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe, Maniraga Fabien alias Kadasokoza yabaga ari kumwe n'abasirikari n'abajandarume areba uburyo imyitozo iri gukorwa.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba hari umutwe witwaraga gisirikare witwaga aba « *Quinze* »; ukaba waratorejwe muri *camp* Muhoza. Kubita aba « *Quinze* » bikomoka ku kuba barahawe imyitozo mu gihe cy'iminsi cumi n'itanu gusa. Bamwe mu batojwe harimo Thadéo mwene Kamuzinzi, Bazera wo muri Segiteri ya Kinoni. Batera Charles wo muri Segiteri ya Gahunga niwe wari ukuriye uwo mutwe[224].

224 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGARUKIYINTWARI Jean Nepomuscène mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Umutwe w'aba « *Quinze »* watojwe kugera mu 1993 nyuma hajyaho undi wiswe aba « *Vingt »*. Abagize umutwe w'aba « *Vingt »* bo bahabwaga imyitozo ya gisirikare mu gihe kingana n'iminsi makumyabiri. Kimwe n'aba « *Quinze »* bose bafatiye imyitozo muri *camp* Muhoza. Mu bari mu mutwe waba « *Vingt »* twavuga Munyangabe wigeze kuba umusirikare, Higiro, Alphonse, Dasani, Munyaburari n'abandi[225].

Abitabiriye imyitozo muri iyi mitwe barangwaga n'urugomo rukabije, bakibasira Abatutsi babakorera urugomo rw'indengakamere. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yavuze ko abagize uwo mutwe bafataga urusenda bakarushyira mu nzoga, barangiza bakayiha Umututsi ku gahato ngo ayinywe. Mu bazwi muri bene ibyo bikorwa twavuga Seruri, Alphonse, Ndagije, Kayogoyogo na Gashuma bakomoka muri Segiteri Giheta[226].

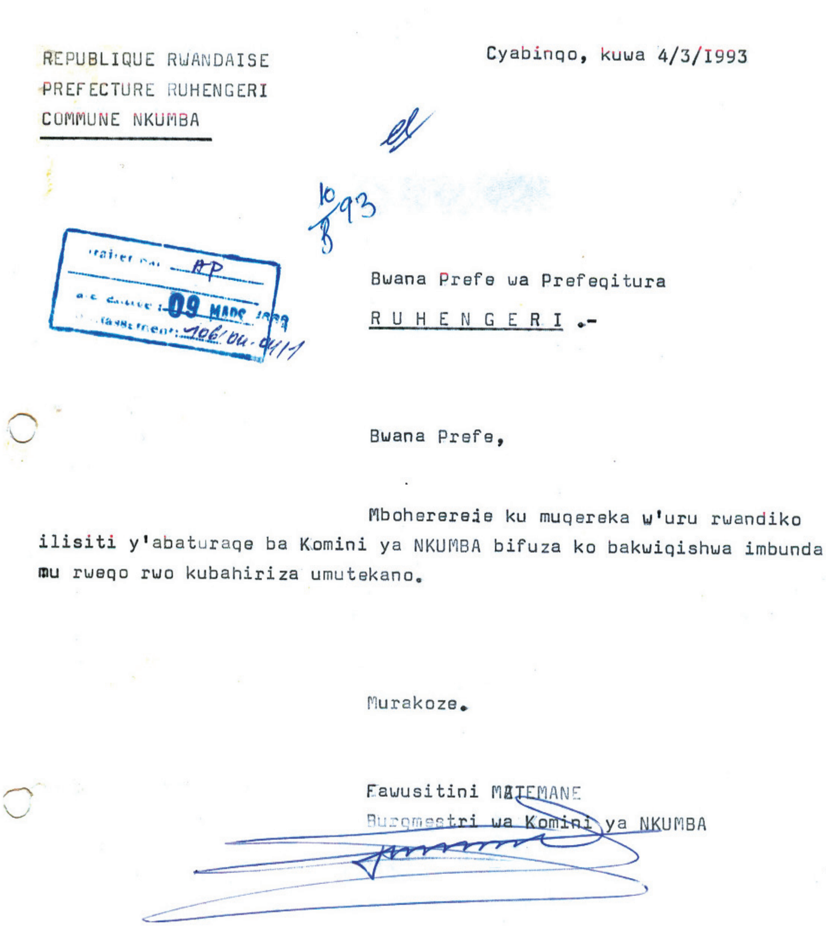
Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba kimwe no mu zindi Komini zari zigize iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, ubuyobozi ntibwasigaye mu gutanga imyitozo ya girikare no kwigisha abaturage imbunda. Ni muri urwo rwego kuwa 4 Werurwe 1993, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba, Matemane Faustin, yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri amugezaho urutonde rw'abaturage bagera kuri 487 bifuzaga kwiga imbunda kugira ngo bicungire umutekano.[227] Iyi baruwa Burugumesitiri yayandikiye muri Komini ya Cyabingo, biragaragara ko ashobora kuba yari yarahunze, kubera ko Komini ya Nkumba yari muri *Zone Tempo*, ariko ntibyamubujije gukomeza umugambi wo guha abaturage imyitozo ya gisirikare.

225 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUNYANGANIZI Martin mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

226 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SIBOMANA Samuel mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

227 Ibaruwa yo kuwa 4/3/1993 yanditswe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba, Matemane Faustin, yandikira Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, amugezaho lisiti y'abaturage ba Komini bifuza kwiga imbunda.

Ibaruwa yo kuwa 4 Werurwe 1993 Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkumba bwana Matemane Faustin yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri amugezaho lisiti y'abantu batoranyije bifuza ko bakwigishwa imbunda[228]



REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE
PREFECTURE RUHENGERI
COMMUNE NKUMBA

Cyabingo, kuwa 4/3/1993

09 MARS 1993

Bwana Prefe wa Prefegitura
R U H E N G E R I .-

Bwana Prefe,

Mboherereje ku mugereka w'uru rwandiko ilisiti y'abaturage ba Komini ya NKUMBA bifuza ko bakwigishwa imbunda mu rwego rwo kubahiriza umutekano.

Murakoze.

Fawusitini MATEMANE
Burgmestri wa Komini ya NKUMBA

228 Iyi baruwa yandikiwe muri Komini Cyabingo kubera ko Burugumesitiri n'abaturage bamwe bari barahunze imirwano ariko ibikorwa byo kuyobora Komini no gukurikirana imibereho yayo babikomereza aho bahungiye.

Lisiti y'abantu bifuza kwiga imbunda kugira ngo bashobore kubahiriza umutekano

REPUBLIQUE R WANDAISE

PREFECTURE RUHENGERI

COMMUNE NKUMBA

LISITI Y'ABANTU BIFUZA KWIGA IMBUNDA KUGIRA NGO BASHOBORE KUBAHIRIZA UMUTEKANO

N°	AMAZINA	SEGITERI
00I	BIZIMANA	KINONI
002	HARERIMANA Gaspard	"
003	KWIZERA Jean	"
004	NSENGIYUMVA Martin	"
005	HAKIZIMANA Célestin	"
006	NZABAGERAGEZA Célestin	"
007	BIZIMUNGU Alphonse	"
008	NTIBASHIMA Jean	"
009	TUBONYUMUKIZA Innocent	"
0I0	NDAYAMBAJE	"
0II	MIGAYO Faustin	"
0I2	NDARIBITSE	"
0I3	MUHAWENIMANA	"
0I4	BUNANE	"
0I5	MUSABYIMANA	"
0I6	NSABIMANA	"
0I7	NTIBATEKEREZA Thomas	"
0I8	URAYENEZA Ignace	"
0I9	HARERIMANA Herman	"
020	NZAMUHABWANIMANA	"
02I	KABANO Jérôme	"
022	HABYALIMANA	"
023	HABUMUREMYI Evariste	MAYA
024	HABAMENSHI Gaspard	"
025	NGOGA Emmanuel	"
026	NTEGEYIMINSI Joseph	"
027	NEMEYE	"
028	RUHANIKA	"
029	NKURUNZIZA Fabien	"
030	IYAKAREMYE Emmanuel	"
03I	NDAHAYO Joseph	"
032	NSENGIYUMVA Gérard	"
033	NTUYENABO	"

- 2 -

034	: MIHIGO Fidèle	: MAYA
035	: AHISHAKIYE Boniface	: "
036	: HABUMUREMYI Innocent	: "
037	: BIZIMANA Damien	: "
038	: SENZOGA Bernard	: "
038	: SIBOMANA Phocas	: "
040	: NGAN[illegible]ZI Jean Damascène	: "
04I	: NGENDABANGA Emmanuel	: "
042	: DUSABEMUNGU Bernard	: "
043	: BALIMENSHI Jean	: "
044	: MUNDERI Elisée	: "
045	: TUGIREMUNGU Abiatali	: "
046	: MANISHIMWE Célestin	: "
047	: MUNYAMBANZA Jean Népo	: "
048	: TUGIRIMANA Faustin	: "
049	: NDIMUBANZI Claver	: "
050	: UWIRINGIYIMANA Adrien	: "
05I	: HAGUMIMANA Pierre	: "
052	: MWISENEZA Elaste	: "
053	: NDIMUBANZI Evariste	: "
054	: NTEGEYIMINSI JMV	: "
055	: BATIBUKA Jean d'Amour	: MWiko
056	: NSHIMIYIMANA Félicien	: MUSANZU
057	: NZABONANTUMA	: GAHUNGA
058	: KABANGO Joseph	: MUSANZU
059	SIBOMANA Iqnace	: MAYA
060	: NGIRABAKUNZI Thomas	: "
06I	: SIRYUYUMUNSI Jean Damascène	: NYANGA
062	: BIDELI Célestin	: NYANGA
063	: MWISENEZA Jean Damascène	: RUHONDO
064	: KARANGWA Jean Damascène	RUHONDO
065	: BIRIKWIDEMBE Joseph	: RUHONDO
066	: BIDELI Alfred	: KINONI
067	: MUNYAMBANZA Innocent	: RUHONDO
068	: MUNYAMBANZA Jean	: "
069	: SIBOMANA Emmanuel	: GAHUNGA
070	= MUNYANGANIZI Célestin	: "
07I	: MBONABAMIKWA Jérôme	: RUHONDO
072	: UWAMBAJE Samuel	: MUSANZU

- 3 -

073	:	NTIBIBUKA J. Damascène	:	MUSANZU
074	:	NGIRABAKUNZI Augustin	:	GAHUNGA
075	:	KARASANYI Cassien	:	GITINDA
076	:	MUSABYIMANA Innocent	:	KINONI
077	:	KAYIHURA J.Damascène	:	RUTAMBA
078	:	NDISHUTSE Jonas	:	"
078	:	NTIRUHONGERWA Fidèle	:	"
079.	:	NZABALINDA Jean	:	"
080	:	HAKIZIMANA	:	"
08I	:	RWaretse Simon	:	"
082	:	SERUTOZI Jean Pierre	:	"
084	:	NZABARINDA Philippe	:	"
085	:	MANIRAGUHA Cyprien	:	"
086	:	NTAWENDERUNDI Martin	:	KINONI
087	=	GAPIROKO Faustin	:	"
088	:	NTUYENABO Jean Baptiste	:	"
089	:	RUKERIBUGA J. Damascène	:	RUTAMBA
090	:	HAKIZIMANA Innocent	:	RUTAMBA
09I	:	MPORANYABANZI Alphonse	:	Muzanzu
092	:	MUGARUKIRA Damascène	=	"
093	:	UWAMBAJE Samuel	:	"
094	:	IYABUZE BERNARD	:	"
095	:	UWIMANA Daniel	:	"
096	:	GAHUTU Jean	:	"
097	:	NSENGIYUMVA Eammanuel	:	"
098	:	NOHERI Damien	:	"
099	:	NSABIYUMVA François	:	"
I00	:	HABUMUREMYI Faustin	:	"
I0I	:	NIBISHAKA J. Damascène	:	"
I02	:	GASANA J.Damascène	:	"
I03	:	SIBOMANA Charles	:	"
I04	:	UKOMEYE Elias	:	"
I05	:	RUGERINYANGE Théogène	:	"
I06	:	NIYONSABA Emmanuel	:	"
I07	:	BITWAYIKI	:	"
I08	:	KANYABUGANDA Alfred	:	RUHONDO
I09	:	HITAYEZU Thaddée	:	KABAYA
II0	:	NDAGIJIMANA Juvénal	:	MUSANZU

- 4 -

III	: SIBOMANA Emmanuel	: GAHUNGA
II2	: MUJAMBERE Innocent	= "
II3	: NZABONIMPA Elie	: "
III4	: HASANGIRA Bernard	: "
II5	: BAZIYAKA	: '
II6	: SEMANA	: "
II7	: SEBISHYIMBO Cyprien	: "
II8	: IYAKAREMYE Innocent	: "
II9	: BUMASA Jean	: "
I20	: NZEYIMANA Aloys	: "
I21	: TWAGIRAYEZU Innocent	: "
122	: MUNYABARENZI Augustin	: "
I23	; MUNYANGANIZI Célestin	: "
I24	: SEMAKUBA Célestin	: "
I25	: NSIGAYEHE Emmanuel	: "
I26	: MUNYANGABU Stanislas	: "
I27	: MBONYUBWABO Anatole	: "
I28	: URAYENEZA Donatien	: "
I29	: HARERIMANA Cyprien	: RUHONDO
130	: DUSABIMANA Jean	: "
13I	: BAGARAGAZA Félicien	: "
I32	: MUJYANAMA Gaspard	= "
I33	: MUSHEBEREJIKI P.Célestin	: "
I34	: RUZIBIZA Vincent	: "
I35	: MUSABIMANA Léonidas	: "
I36	: HABYALIMANA Léodomir	= "
I37	: RWOGANYANJA Augustin	: "
I38	: NIBISHAKA Bernard	: "
I39	: DUSABIMANA Jeacques	: "
140	: RUGERINYANGE Théogène	: "
14I	: KAYIHURA Fidèle	: "
142	: MBANZABIGWI Emmanuel	: "
I43	: NIYIKIZA J.Damascène	: "
144	: GASIGWA J.de DIEU	: "
I45	: NDAYAMBAJE	: "
I46	: SINZABAKWIRA Innocent	: "
I47	: KARASIRA	= " "
I48	: GATERA	: "

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I49	: NZAMUYE	: RUHONDO
I50	: NZABANITA	: "
I5I	: NIYONTEZE J.BErch	= "
I52	: NSENGIYUMVA Vincent	: "
I53	: NZARAMBA Jean	: "
I54	: NAYIGIZIKI Samuel	: "
I55	: KATABARWA Andrée	: "
I56	: SABINE Gabriel	: "
157	: NDAYAMBAJE Carton	: "
I58	: MUNYARUGERERO Faustin	: "
I59	: MUNYANEZA Didace	: "
I60	: IBAMBASI	: "
I6I	: GASANA fils MAHATANE	: "
I62	: BIMENYIMANA Jean	: KABAYA KINONI
I63	: KAVAKURE	: "
I64	: NZABNIMPA	: RUHONDO
I65	: DUSABILANA Vincent	: RUHONDO
I66	: NEZEHOSE	: "
I67	: MUNYANKUSI	: "
I68	: NIZEYIMANA :	: "
I69	: IRIVUZUMUGABO	: "
I70	: HAKIZ MANA	: "
I7I	: NSHIMIYIMANA	: "
172	: BAGIRANEZA : =:	: "
I73	: KANYAMIHIGO :	: "
I74	: SAMVURA	: "
I75	: BIZIMENYERA	: "
I76	: KALIKUMUTIMA	: "
I77	: RWESABIGWI	: "
I78	: MWISENEZA	= "
I79	: MBONABARERA	= "
I80	: NTAMU NOZA Didace	: GIHETA
I8I	: NGARUKIYINKA Gabriel	: "
I82	: MUNYANEZA Charles	: "
I83	: NZIRORERA Donat	: "
I84	: BABONANGENDA Fabien	: "
I85	: MUGEMANGANGO Emmanuel	: "
I86	: KAREMERA Faustin	: "
I87	::NDIGIZE Japhet	: "

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I88	: NGARUKIYE Juvénal	: GIHETA
I89	: HAKIZIMANA Edison	: "
I90	: NIYODUSENGA Innocent	: "
I9I	: NIRARIRE Alexis	: "
I92	: MUNYANKONGI Claude	: "
I93	: SINZABAKWira innocent	= "
I94	: SAHABO Přodidas	: "
I95	: HABIMANA Samuel	: "
I96	: MBABAJENDE Joêl	: "
I97	: MWAMBUTSA Damien	: "
I98	: NEMEYE Gaspard	: "
I99	: MANIRAGABA Aaron	: "
200	: NKURUNZIZA Tharcisse	: "
201	: SEBISHYIMBO Cyprien	: "
2020	: RUBAYIZA Juvénal	: "
203	: KARANGWA J.Damascène	= "
204	: HAKIZAMUNGU Innocent	= "
205	: KARAMAGA	: "
206	: NIYONSABA Innocent	: "
207	: HABAMENSHI Gaspard	: "
208	: MMWAMBUTSA Juvénal	: "
209	: NTUYENABO Gabriel	: "
2I0	: HAKIZIMANA Anthère	: "
2II	: HAKIZIMANA Innocent	: "
21 2	: SINAMENYE Marc	: "
2I3	: RYABONYENDE Elaste	: "
2I4	: NTARWANDA Iqnace	: "
2I5	: NGWABIJE Sébastien	: "
2I6	: NDENGEJEHO Cyprien	; "
2I7	: NDONGOZI I qqace	: "
2I8	: NSABAGASANI Faustin	: "
2I9	: KAJAMBERE Jean	: "
220	: TUGIREMUNGU Faustin	: "
22I	: MANIRIHO Marc	: "
222	: MBONIGABA Chrisoloque	: "
223	= KARUGENDO Casmir	: "
224	: NTEZIRYAYO Dominique	= "
225	MUNYAZOGEYE Kyprien	: "

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226	MUNYAZOGEYE Cyprien	GIHETA
227	BILIKUNZIRA Joseph	"
228	BATEMBEZI Damien	"
229	MUSEMAKWELI Simaki	"
230	SAFALI Narcisse	"
23I	MUSABYIMANA Appolinaire	"
232	GASIGWA J. de Dieu	= "
233	BIZUMUREMYI Inqace	"
234	MUNYANKUSI P. Célestin	"
235	NIYODUSENGA Innocent	"
236	NKUNDAKOZERA Félicien	"
237	DUSABIMANA J. Baptiste	"
238	GATERA J. Damascène	"
239	BAYINGANA Faustin	"
240	NSHIMIYIMANA Xévérien	"
24I	GASANA Gaspard	"
242	CYIZA Gabriel	GIHETA
243	KATABARWA Adrien	"
244	KAREKEZAI	"
245	SERUFURI Léonard	"
246	NDIKUBWIMANA Alexandre	"
247	MUDAKUKANWA JMV	"
248	BAREKERIYO	"
249	NTAKARAKORWA Alf'red	"
250	DUFITUMUKIZA Alphonse	"
25I	NTEGEYIMINSI JMV	"
252	MUNYAKAZI Celestin	"
253	NIYIBIZI N JMV	"
254	R WABUR NDI Claude	"
255	HARERIMANA Léopold	"
256	SIMBIKANGWA Azarias	NYANGA
257	SEBUDANDI	"
258	RWABURINDI	"
259	HARERIMANA	"
260	NTAWUKIRAMWABO David	"
26I	NTAWOGANARYO	'
262	HITIMANA Gréqoire	"

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263	: NDACYAYISABA Faustin	: NYANGA
264	: BICAMUMPAKA J. de la Croix	: "
265	: KABENGERA	: "
266	: SEBADESHI	: "
267	: MBARUSHIMANA	: "
268	: NZITABAKUZE J.Damascène	: "
269	: BALIYANGA Célestin	: "
270	: HAKIZIMANA	: "
27I	: BALIKEKA Damine	: "
272	: M ULINDABIGWI J.Baptiste	: "
273	: NTACYOBAZAKORA	: "
274	: HABYALIMANA	: "
275	: NSABIMANA Vianney	: "
276	: NSABIMANA Léonarld	= "
277	: MUNYALIBANJE	: "
278	: RWIHANDAGAZA	: "
279	: NDAYAMBAJE	: "
280	: NTUYENABOJD	: "
28I	: HARERIMANA Gaspard	: "
282	: NDUNGUTSE Gaspard	: "
283	: SAG HUTU Thomas	: "
284	: SINGIRANKABO Alexis	: "
285	: NGARAMBE J. Pierre	: Kabaya
286	: TUNEZERWE Vincent	: "
287	: NIKOBIZABA Faustin	: "
288	: BIBUTSUHOZE J.D.	: "
289	: GAHUTU Emmanuel	: "
290	: MUNYAWERA Faustin	: "
29I	: UZABAKIRIHO J. Népo.	: "
292	: HABYALIMANA J.B.	: "
293	: RUTEMIKIRERE Jean	: "
294	: NDAYAMBAJE Gaston	: "
295	: HAKIZIMANA	: "
296	: NTABOOBA	: "
297	: SEKABUKE Innocent	: "
298	: NTABANGANYIMANA Innocent	: "
299	: NTUNZWENINGOMA Damien=	: "
300	: TWAGIRAYEZU Gabriel	: "
30I	: HAKIZIMANA Léon	: "

302	: HABYALIMANA	: KABAYA
303	: KARASIRA	: "
304	: KAREKEZI Gabriel	: "
305	: NIYONTEZE J.Damascène	: "
306	: HABIMANA Samuel	: "
307	: HABYALIMANA Pierre	: "
308	: HAKIZIMANA Léodomir	: "
309	: NZABINOMPA Sébastien	: "
3I0	: BAZEMERIKI	: "
3II	: BARANGIRANA Vincent	: "
312	: RWANGARINDE	: "
313	: RURAHOZE	: "
3I4	: BIZIMANA Athanase	: "
3I5	: NDAHAYO Enack	: "
3I6	: HABYALIMANA	: "
3I7	: RENZAHO Innocent	: "
3I8	: GASIRABO J.Népo/	: "
3I9	: NDAHAYO Wenceslas	: "
320	: NANGIGAYE Metusela	: "
32I	: HABIMANA Damien	: "
322	: NTABANGANYIMANA J. Népo	= "
323	: HABYALIMANA Juvénal	: "
324	: MUNYAZIRINDA Jérémie	: "
325	: HABYALIMANA Innocent	: "
326	: NIMONZIMA Emmanuel	: "
327	: UZABAKIRIHO J.M.V.	: "
328	: BAGARAGAZA Alphonse	: "
329	: NTUYENABO DAmine	: "
330	: NSEYIMANAAloys	: "
33I	: DUSABIMANA Fidèle	: "
332	: NTIBALINGANIRA Phocas	: "
333	: NDAGIJIMANA Elie	: "
334	: HITAYEZU Thaddée	: "
335	: DUSABIMANA Elias	: "
336	: SEMAKUBA Célestin	: "
337	: BIMENYIMANA Jérôme	: "
338	: MUNYAZIBONEYE Sébastien	: "
339	: NTAWENDERUNDI Martin	: " KINONI
340	: GAPIROKO Faustin	:KINONI

- I0 -

34I	: RWARETSE Simon	: KINONI
342	: HASHAKIMANA Faustin	: "
343	: KAVAKURE Pierre	: "
344	: NDAYAMBAJE Innocent	: "
345	: NIYIBIZI Daniel	: "
346	: XXXXXXXXx TWAHIRWA Alph	: "
347	: MUNYAMASOKO Vincent	: "
348	: MUNYAMA LIZA	: "
349	: NDIKUBWIMANA Alexandre	: "
350	: BIZIMANA Phocas	: "
35I=	: NKURUNZIZA Faustin	: MWIKO
352	: BAGIRUWUBUSA JMV	: GIHETA
353	= BAMBALI	: GIHETA
354	: HABYALIMANA JD	: GIHETA
355	: KAGIRANEZA Jean	: "
356	: SIBOMANA Emmanuel	: "
357	: SENZOGA Evariste	: "
358	: NUMVIYAHO Cyprien	: "
359	: RUBAYIZA Gaspard	: "
360	: NZABANDORA	: RUTAMBA
36I	: BIZANDORA	: MWIKO
362	: KANYAMIHIGO Canisius	: NYANGA
363	: NKUNDABANYANGA	: NYANGA
364	: NIYONZIMA JMV	: "
365	: NTAMUTURANO Jérôme	: GITINDA
366	: SERIB[illegible]BIRO	: GAHUNGA
367	: NZITABAKUZE	: GAHUNGA
368	: SEMASAKA Grégoire	: GITINDA
369	: NDAYISABA Innocent	: "
370	: AYI DIGIRA Fabien	: "
37I	: BAMPRIKI	: "
372	: MBONARUZA	: "
373	= KAJEGUHAKWA	: GITINDA
374	: SERUGENDO	: GITINDA
375	: MBARUBUKEYE Zacharie	: "
376	= KAZINDA	= "
377	: MUNYARUGERERO Claudien	: "
378	: NTEZIRYAYO Félicien	: "
379	: TUYIZERE	: "

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380	MULINDABIGWI Félicien	: GITINDA
38I	: BIRUSHABAGABO Innocent	: "
382	: BACAMWABO	: "
383	: MBONANTUMA	: "
384	: MUNYAKAZI	: "
385	: MUGEMANYI	: "
386	: HAVUGIMANA	: "
387	: RUBERANGEYO	: "
388	: NIYIBIZI	: "
389	: RWAYITARE Paôme	: "
390	: BAZIRAKE Alphonse	: "
39I	: BARISESERA	: "
392	: BUCYANA Josué	: "
393	: NZABONIMPA	: "
394	: KABANDA Noel	: "
395	: SEBASORE Charles	: "
396	: BUGENIMANA Alphonse	: "
397	: GAKURU Félicien	: "
398	: SERWAKIRA Sylvestre	: "
399	: SENKWARE Nathanael	: "
400	: BAMBANZE Félicien	: "
40I	: SEBUTAGWIRA Vincent	: "
402	: NTUNGURU Charles	: "
403	: NZABONIMPA	: "
404	: SEBURO Josué	: "
405	: SINARIBONYE Charles=	"
406	: SEBIJUMBA Gaspard	: "
407	: NDAYI Bernard	: '"
408	: MUNYANTWALI Innocent	: "
409	: NTAWUHAMA Faustin	
4I0	: NTUYEHE Innocent	: "
4II	: DUKUZUMUREMYI Gaston	: "
412	: KANOBANA	: "
4I3	: NDAGIJE Emmanuel	: "
4I4	: MUNYANKUSI J.B.	: "
4I5	: NSANZIMFURA Athanase	: "
4I6	: NDORIMANA	: "
4I7	: NGIRABAKUNZI Jean	: "

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418	: NKURUNZIZA	: Ruhondo
419	: CYARUGABA Evariste	: GAHUNGA
420	: SIBOMANA Vénant	: RUHONDO
421	: NDUWAYEZU	: RUHONDO
422	: HAKIZIMANA	: NYANGA
423	: SIBOMANA Emmanuel	: GAHUNGA
424	: NDAYAMBAJE Charles	: NYANGA
425	: NDUWAYEZU J.Pierre	: GAHUNGA
426	: IBYIMANA Sébastien	: GIHETA
427	: HAKIZAYEZU Emmanuel	: GIHETA
428	: MUNYANKUSI P.Célestin	: RUHONDO
429	: NAYIGIZIKI Nathanael	: MAYA
430	: CYIZA Cassien	: KABAYA
431	: MUNYAMPUGUKE François	: MAYA
432	: NZABARUSHA	: NYANGA
433	: MUYOBOKE Elie	: MWIKO
434	= MUHAWENIMANA	: MWIKO
435	: NTEGEYIMINSI	: "
436	: NDAGIJIMANA Vincent	: "
437	: BAMBANZE Célestin	: "
438	: BAMPIRE	: "
439	: MANIRAGABA	: "
440	: BENDANTUNGUKA	: "
441	: UZABAKIRIHO Elias	: "
442	: BARARWEREKANA Joseph	: "
443	: UBURIYEMUYE J. Népo	: "
444	: NZABAKURIKIZA	: "
445	: MWISENEZA	: "
446	: NIYONTEZE Bernard	: "
447	: MUNYAKABERE Boniface	: "
448	: NIZEYIMANA Carton	: "
449	: NTAMAGEZO Damine	: "
450	: NTILIVAMUNDA	: "
451	: KABURABUZA	: KINONI
452	: MBONARUZA Ananie	: "
453	: BIMENYIMANA Juvénal	Mwiko"
454	: BISETSA	: KINONI
455	: MUSABYIMANA K	; KINONI
456	: GAGANA	: KINONI

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457	: MWENESE	: KINONI
458	: BIZAMENYIMANA	: KINONI
459	: BIDAHARINKA	: KINONI
460	: NTAMUGABUMWE Gérard	: KINONI
46I	: NTAWUGURANIMANA Evariste	: MUSANZU
462	: BAGAMBAKE Alfred	: MWIKO
463	: NIZEYIMANA Adrein	: MAYA
464	: KARAMAGA Alexandre	: GAHUNGA
465	: HATANGIMBABAZI Jean - Claude	: MAYA
467	: NIYONSABA Innocent	: MAYA
468	: MWUMVANEZA Antoine	: Mwiko
469	: RWAJEKARE Gaspard	: RUTAMBA
470	: HATEGEKIMANA Hesiron	: Gahunga
471	: TWISHIME Celestin	: Gahunga
472	: NZEYIMANA Cyprien	: Rutamba
473	: KARIMERA Edison	: Gatete
474	: BYEREKO	: Kabayo
475	: MUREGO	: Rutamba
476	: TURAYISABA	: Kinoni
477	: KATYABIONA...	
478	: MWIMANA	
479	: Hatangimbabazi	
480	: Ntawurushinga	
481	: Ruvuna	
482	: Kalisa	
483	: Gahutu	
484	: Abakizinfura	
485	: Sekabanza	
486	: Sekabuga	
487	: Sendegeya	

Bikorewe i CYABINGO, kuwa 4/3/19..

Fawusitini MATEMANE

Burgmestri wa Komini NKUMBA

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu, Interahamwe zitorezaga Nemba, Bwisha na Buranga; zikaba zaratozwaga n'abasirikare. Interahamwe zatorezwaga kandi ahitwa Kirwa, muri Serire ya Nganzo; hakaba hari ishyamba rinini abasirikare batorezagamo Interahamwe. Izo nterahamwe akaba arizo zishe Abatutsi muri Jenoside yo mu 1994. Mu Interahamwe zashishikaye mu bwicanyi muri Segiteri Ruhangari twavuga Ntahombasize, Bizimana, Kambanda, Ndahayo, Kirizani, Straton na Narcisse bo kwa Sagatwa n'abandi. Bizimana Innocent akaba yari umwe mu bayobozi b'Interahamwe zo mu Gakenke[1].

Gutoza Interahamwe ni igikorwa ubuyobozi bwa Komini Nyarutovu bwagizemo uruhare rukomeye cyane, haba mu gutoranya abagombaga gutozwa no gukurikirana ibikorwa byabo. Bimwe mu bigaragaza agaciro kahabwaga iki gikorwa ni ibaruwa N° 009/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 2 Werurwe 1993, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyarutovu Twagirayezu Pierre, yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri amugezaho lisiti y'abantu batoranyije ko babungabunga umutekano mu masegiteri bakoresheje imbunda, bityo abasabira ko bazigishwa.

Ku mugereka w'iyo baruwa, Burugumesitiri yagejeje kuri Perefe urutonde rw'abantu 471 bakomoka mu masegiteri umunani:

- Ruhangali : abantu 54
- Kajwi : abantu 57
- Ruhinga I : abantu 61
- Ruhinga II : abantu 60
- Kiliba : abantu 62
- Gitovu : abantu 53
- Gakenke : abantu 62
- Bwisha : abantu 62.

1 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HARERIMANA Déogratias mu Karere ka Gakanke, Werurwe 2017

Nk'uko bigaragara mu ibaruwa ikurikira, Burugumesitiri asoza avuga ko andi masegiteri asigaye nayo ayashakira lisiti mu buryo bwihuse, akayibagezaho.

Ibaruwa No 009/04.09.01/4 yo kuwa 2 Werurwe 1993 Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyarutovu bwana Twagirayezu Pierre yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri amugezaho lisiti y'abantu batoranyije ko babungabunga umutekano mu masegiteri bakoresheje imbunda, abasabira ko bazigishwa.

REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE
PREFECTURE RUHENGERI
COMMUNE NYARUTOVU .

Nyarutovu le 2/03/1993
N° 0095 /04.09.01/4

05 MARS 1993
898/04.09.01

S/P Celestin

enjoindre à d'autres dossiers relatifs à l'auto-défense.

Bwana Prefe wa Prefegitura ya
RUHENGERI.

Impamvu: Kohereza Lisiti y'abo twifuza ko babungabunga umutekano mumasegiteri.

Bwana Prefe ,

Kumugereka w'iyi barwa , tuboherereje lisiti y'abantu twatoranije ko babungabunga umutekano mumasegiteri bakorejeje imbunda twifuza ko bakwiga .

N.B: Kubera ibihe turimo by'intambara ; nabashije kubona amalisiti yo mumasegiteri munani ariyo : RUHANGALI, KAJWI, RUHINGA II, Ruhinga I , KILIBA , GITOVU , GAKENKE na BWISHA andi ane asigaye(GIHINGA , GASHENYI, KARAMBO na KINYOMA) ndagerageza gukora uko nshoboye mbone amalisiti yaho nzabagezaho nyuma .

Tubashimiye ukuyakira neza kwanyu .

Bourgmestre wa Komini Nyarutovu

TWAGIRAYEZU Pierre .

République Rwandaise
Commune Nyarutovu

Bimenyeshejwe :

- Bwana S/Prefe wa S/Prefegitura
BUSENGO .

Lisiti y'abifuza kubungabunga umutekano muri Komini Nyarutovu bifashishije intwaro (imbunda):

1. Segiteri RUHANGALI

1. Kanyabishashara
2. Rwagizenkana
3. Ngirabanyiginya
4. Rugimbana
5. Nkikabahizi
6. Mvunabandi
7. Rwaburindi
8. Rukirumurame
9. Nzibahiga
10. Uzabakiriho
11. Bosenibo
12. Ndihijabagabo
13. Kanyamurera
14. Masengesho
15. Ingabire
16. Safari
17. Niyibizi
18. Hategekimana
19. Munyembabazi
20. Uzamukunda
21. Habineza
22. Rukikatabara
23. Dusabe
24. Kuradusenge
25. Habyarimana
26. Ndahayo
27. Ahoryiriwe
28. Niyonsaba
29. Safari
30. Ndanguza
31. Bazirushaka
32. Ndimurwango
33. Muvunandinda
34. Byanganshaka
35. Nshimiyimana
36. Dukunzimana
37. Twizerimana
38. Ngerageze
39. Kabanguka
40. Mugabonindekwe
41. Muberuka
42. Habimana
43. Bazamanza
44. Ryezembere

45. Hakizimana
46. Niyonsaba
47. Ndekezi
48. Uwimana
49. Twizerimana
50. Zigirinshuti
51. Mugabarigira
52. Nsabimana
53. Mugabowindekwe
54. Utazirubanda

2. Segiteri KAJWI

1. Nizeyimana
2. Rwandanga
3. Bunani
4. Harerimana
5. Ntahontuye
6. Burakambere
7. Hakurimana
8. Iyamuremye
9. Mugabarigira
10. Negamiye
11. Ntawumenyumunsi
12. Nzabonimpa
13. Ndindabahizi
14. Kagorora
15. Niyindagiye
16. Nsekuye
17. Mutembezi
18. Nkwakuzi
19. Bisanukuri
20. Rutaburingoga
21. Rutazihana
22. Ntirushize
23. Nzubahimpfura
24. Bambimbaho
25. Mwanzimwabo
26. Rizabarimana
27. Zirimwabagabo
28. Ndagijimana
29. Ndengera
30. Ntanze
31. Magayane
32. Hakizimana
33. Karimundimwe
34. Turikumana
35. Ndabahebye
36. Rukeratabaro
37. Rwamirera

38. Nturanyi
39. Zigumeho
40. Serushoki
41. Ntezimana
42. Nzabanita
43. Rwaziyumugabo
44. Kabera
45. Dushimiyimana
46. Nkulikiyimari
47. Mporendame
48. Ndagijimana
49. Bagabo
50. Ntahonduye
51. Nzabandora
52. Ruhato
53. Bagiramenshi
54. Ntibankundiye
55. Bavukiyehe
56. Nzabisigirande
57. Nshimiyimana

3. Segiteri RUHINGA II

1. Rwesimbuguzo
2. Nzitabakuze
3. Sibomana
4. Mugemanshuro
5. Niyibizi
6. Ntacabukuye
7. Murengerantwari
8. Barayagwiza
9. Ruberangeyo
10. Sebahinzi
11. Ntibitura
12. Basirimutse
13. Kanyamuhungu
14. Nahayo
15. Ndengeye
16. Uzabakiriho
17. Honga
18. Nshimiyimana
19. Habimana
20. Ngendandumwe
21. Micungo
22. Nkundabanyanga
23. Nzabanterura
24. Gahunga
25. Mujyambere
26. Nkundabera
27. Munyembabazi
28. Uwimana

29. Ngirumpatse
30. Barakabya
31. Mutsinzi
32. Rekadusabe
33. Karera
34. Rudakangara
35. Mujyarugamba
36. Ngaruye
37. Munyankiko
38. Uwimana
39. Barahuruye
40. Uworunaniye
41. Niyotwagira
42. Rwabakika
43. Zirahishira
44. NtahoNkuliye
45. Kanyamuyaga
46. Nizeyimana
47. Hakizumwami
48. Karikumutima
49. Nkunzabo
50. Gakwandi
51. Karangwa
52. Ndirivamunda
53. Ndahodukiriye
54. Ryagasani
55. Mutagaramba
56. Tunguhore
57. Munyarugamba
58. Harerimana
59. Banyangandora
60. Bicamumago
61. Nzabanita

4. Segiteri KILIBA

1. Sembagare
2. Mugwiza
3. Nsanzimana
4. Ngwabije
5. Ubarijoro
6. Habimana
7. Barabwiriza
8. Habumugisha
9. Zungruka
10. Makuza
11. Ntacyagora
12. Ntezimana
13. Uwamungu
14. Kanyamuhanda

15. Nsengiyumva
16. Nzirasanaho
17. Ruzindana
18. Serebeka
19. Munyentwari
20. Ntezimana
21. Bararwerekana
22. Turikunkiko
23. Nizeyimana
24. Bundanga
25. Ntiyamira
26. Uwimana
27. Sembabwa
28. Ngendahayo
29. Munyemana
30. Nsabagasani
31. Bararuha
32. Nshimyimana
33. Bazimaziki
34. Ntezimana
35. Nsabimana
36. Nganabera
37. Ntanyungura
38. Nsengimana
39. Nambajimana
40. Ntuyahaga
41. Maniragaba
42. Batumwa
43. Habimana
44. Habumugisha
45. Barinabo
46. Gasasira
47. Rutabagisha
48. Ugirumufasha
49. Habumuremyi
50. Nkundabanyanga
51. Basabose
52. Ndagiwenimana
53. Mbonabucya
54. Akimanizanye
55. Habumugisha
56. Sebatware
57. Gasizigwa
58. Gasasira
59. Nemeye
60. Ribakare
61. Hakizimana
62. Nzakira

5. Segiteri GITOVU

1. Nzabasanga
2. Byaruwawe
3. Iyanze
4. Mukuruwanjye
5. Twayigize
6. Hategekimana
7. Ndagiwenimana
8. Ibambasi
9. Nikwigize
10. Nzabanita
11. Barayavuga
12. Nsengimana
13. Habimana
14. Ngendahayo
15. Mugabarigira
16. Baribwira
17. Kagaba
18. Ndabahimye
19. Maniragaba
20. Zikamabahari
21. Mbonaruza
22. Rugendo
23. Murindahabi
24. Niyonsaba
25. Karimunda
26. Kuradusenge
27. Uburiyemuye
28. Kazanenda
29. Rugwirangabo
30. Harerimana
31. Nteziyaremye
32. Twungutse
33. Bugwanzira
34. Niyibizi
35. Nsabimana
36. Biguri
37. Ndengeje
38. Mureganshuro
39. Munyentore
40. Mavugabandi
41. Ntibankundiye
42. Nyirinkindi
43. Banganabaseka
44. Misiriyo
45. Hategekimana
46. Bahizi
47. Rwakayigamba
48. Ndayambaje
49. Ndabahimye
50. Semanza
51. Nsengimana
52. Mbyariyehe
53. Bizimana

6. Segiteri GAKENKE

1. Habakurama
2. Ngirumpatse
3. Rwambayeho
4. Bazakura
5. Bararuha
6. Makera
7. Ntihabose
8. Niyindagiye
9. Banyanzekare
10. Bwandagara
11. Uwidutije
12. Mpakaniye
13. Tuyishimire
14. Nteziyaremye
15. Munyazikwiye
16. Ibeshaho
17. Twgairimana
18. Ntamuturano
19. Ntiyingingirwa
20. Sibomana
21. Ntirusekanwa
22. Haguminshuti
23. Kayitani
24. Sibomana
25. Munyarugamba
26. Rusezera
27. Nshakiyabandi
28. Murwanashyaka
29. Nkundabaramye
30. Habimana
31. Habimana
32. Rutazihana
33. Habumuremyi
34. Nzabarantumye
35. Uwiteka
36. Musheyija
37. Nzaramba
38. Nkumbuye
39. Hategekimana
40. Mpabanzi
41. Habiyakare
42. Nsekanabanzi
43. Nduwimana
44. Niyibizi
45. Uwimana
46. Ndimugufi
47. Ugirashebuja
48. Nsabimana
49. Ngirabatware
50. Ndimubanzi

51. Dayari
52. Nzabanterura
53. Bariyanga
54. Barangirana
55. Kaberuka
56. Rwanzugushira
57. Mpezamihigo
58. Nsabimana
59. Murihano
60. Hatangimbabazi
61. Nsengiyumva
62. Nikwigize

7. Segiteri BWISHA

1. Dukuzumuremyi
2. Singirankabo
3. Musemakweli
4. Munyabigwi
5. Kamana
6. Nsanzimpfura
7. Ziboneyimpfura
8. Munyarubuga
9. Kabuhoma
10. Dukuzumuremyi
11. Nkundanyirazo
12. Karahanyuze
13. Bendantunguka
14. Rwamirera
15. Kavukiyino
16. Gafaranga
17. Ntawuruhunga
18. Ntirivamunda
19. Kabirigi
20. Bagiramenshi
21. Ntawuruhunga
22. Rwamakuba
23. Gashabizi
24. Hakuzimana
25. Kabanda
26. Kwitonda
27. Ngarambe
28. Hakuzimana
29. Mwanzimwabo
30. Kabindo
31. Habineza
32. Maburakindi
33. Nzahumunyurwa
34. Sibomana
35. Maniraho
36. Semakuta

37. Nzamukwereka
38. Mudacogora
39. Mukebankiko
40. Uwizeyimana
41. Ntirimeninda
42. Ndayambaje
43. Seyoboka
44. Karumiya
45. Ntawugorora
46. Kanyemera
47. Hahigiro
48. Mwitende
49. Rugerinyange
50. Ndagijimana
51. Murinda
52. Ngarukiyintwari
53. Banzibarihafi
54. Nkuliyingoma
55. Nahimana
56. Hirwandame
57. Runigababisha
58. Munyemana
59. Bizimana
60. Hanyurwimpfura
61. Mbarushimana
62. Karaboshya

8. Segiteri RUHINGA I

1. Mbabariye
2. Uzabakiriho
3. Rugerinyange
4. Barasebwa
5. Mpagazehe
6. Nizeyimana
7. Rudakubana
8. Ngirente
9. Nizeyimana
10. Habarugira
11. Hategekimana
12. Karasira
13. Hatangimbabazi
14. Tugizwenayo
15. Ntakaburimvano
16. Barashukana
17. Siboniyo
18. Kanyarwanda
19. Ndabahweje
20. Mpungirehe

21. Harerimana
22. Bazirushaka
23. Karasira
24. Ziragora
25. Hakuzimana
26. Barasebwa
27. Ntawukiramwabo
28. Baransarikiye
29. Nzabonariba
30. Ntawanga
31. Niyoyita
32. Rwerekana
33. Ukizemwabo
34. Ugirashebuja
35. Iyamuremye
36. Ngoreye
37. Bayavuge
38. Kamanzi
39. Regero
40. Nizeyimana
41. Bizimana
42. Hitayezu
43. Nkurunziza
44. Murenzi
45. Nezehose
46. Kabanda
47. Kwigize
48. Bizimana
49. Sengarambe
50. Nzabanita
51. Kanyeshuri
52. Karinda
53. Mukerarugendo
54. Kazigaba
55. Mbanzarugamba
56. Ntawumenya
57. Kanyamuhanda
58. Sendakize
59. Kayijamahe
60. Hatangimbabazi

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ndusu, Interahamwe zatorezwaga ahitwa mu Butare, zigatozwa n'abasirikare baturukaga mu Ruhengeri. Zatozwaga kandi na Murenzi Emmanuel wari warasezerewe mu gisirikare; akaba yarakoraga kuri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri mu 1994[2].

2 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BUHIGIRO Cassien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, Interahamwe zatozwaga n'abavuye mu Gisirikare bafatanije n'Abapolisi, zigatorezwa ku kibuga cya Bigabiro kiri muri Segiteri ya Janja. Mu bazitozaga harimo Ntamunsi wari warasezerewe mu gisirikare. Na none kandi Interahamwe zigiraga imbunda muri Rubika, zigatozwa na Ngirumbatse wari Burigadiye wa Komini. Uretse gukoresha imbunda, Interahamwe zahabwaga imyitozo yo kwiruka ngo barebe ko bazashobora kwiruka ku Mututsi ntabashe kubasiga, bakigishwa kwiyoberanya bambara amashara, bisiga imbyiro ngo bazajye bica Abatutsi batababareba, ….[3].

Ababaga bavuye mu myitozo ya gisirikare barangwaga n'imvugo yuje urwango. Iyo bahuraga n'Abatutsi bababwiraga ko akabo kagiye kugera. Umwe mu barokotse wabwiwe bene ayo magambo aragira ati :

> Abo twari duturanye iyo bavaga gutozwa baratubwiraga ngo akacu karageze. Uwo mwari musanzwe muziranye ntabwo yashakaga ko mugendana. Mu nzira baradukubitaga ukabura aho ujya kurega. Baricaga bagakiza[4].

Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 habayeho kongera umubare w'Interahamwe no kongera kuzitoza. Nk'uko byagaragajwe muri Raporo ya « *Commission nationale independante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'état francais dans le génocide perpetré au rwanda en 1994 » :*

> Ukwiyongera mu mibare, mu bushobozi no mu bugome kw'umutwe w'Interahamwe ahagana mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1993 no mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994 bigaragara nka kimwe mu bimenyetso byerekana umugambi wariho wo gutegura Jenoside

3 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NYIRABABERUKA Immaculée mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

4 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NGEREJAHO Espérance mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

> yakorewe Abatutsi kuva muri Mata kugera muri Kamena 1994[5].

Nk'uko byagarutsweho muri raporo yavuzwe haruguru, muri rusange Interahamwe zigishijwe kwica zinashyirwamo ingengabitekerezo yo kwanga Umututsi mu rwego rwo hejuru. Raporo isobanura ko :

> Imyitozo yahabwaga Interahamwe yarimo ibice bibiri : 1) Igice cya mbere cyari kigizwe n'imyitozo ihabwa interahawe igamije kubigisha uburyo butandukanye bwo kwica : hakoreshejwe intwaro za gisirikare, intwaro gakondo cyangwa nta bikoresho. 2) Igice cya kabiri cyari kigizwe n'inyigisho zigamije gucengeza ingengabitekerezo y'urwango ishingiye ku moko, no kumvishwa ko Abatutsi baturanye bagomba kwicwa[6].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Cyabingo, ibikorwa byo kwigisha urubyiruko ibya gisirikare byashyizwe muri gahunda y'ubuyobozi. Ibi bikagarazwa n'inyandiko mvugo y'inama y'Abayobozi b'urubyiruko n'amashyirahamwe yateraniye mu Ruhengeri kuwa 5 Kanama 1992. Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko mvugo y'iyo nama yari ku mugereka w'Ibaruwa yo kuwa 10/8/92 Umuyobozi w'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe muri Komini Cyabingo Karemera Laban, yandikiye abayobozi bose b'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe muri Komini Cyabingo akagenera Kopi Ababurugumesitiri bose, Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Minisitiri w'Urubyiruko n'Amashyirahamwe, bafashe umwanzuro ko *« Urubyiruko rwose rushoboye rukwiye gutozwa ibya gisirikare ».* Ibi bikaba bigaragaza ko umugambi wo guha imyitozo wari ufite ikindi ugamije kuko imyitozo ya gisirikare iba igenewe Abasirikare.

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5 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 74.

6 Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994, 2007, Paji ya 74.

3.5. Gutanga imbunda mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare no mu baturage

Nyuma yo guhabwa imyitozo, abatojwe mu mitwe yitwaraga gisirikare bagombaga no guhabwa intwaro. Igitekerezo cyo gutanga intwaro mu baturage byemejwe mu nama yo kuwa 9 Nyakanga 1991 yabereye muri *Etat Major* y'ingabo iyobowe na Minisitiri muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika ushinzwe Umutekano Jenerali Ndindirimana Augustin. Iyi nama ikaba yari ihuje abayobozi b'inzego z'iperereza za gisirikare n'izo muri Perezidansi.

Iyo nama yitabiriwe na *Liutenant Colonel* Rutayisire Laurent wari Umuyobozi Mukuru wa Serivisi y'Iperereza (G2) muri Jendarumeri y'Igihugu; *Lieutenant Colonel* BEM Rwabarinda Ephrem wari Umukuru wa *G3* mu ngabo z'u Rwanda*; Commandant gendarme* Karangwa Pierre Claver wari umukuru w'iperereza rusange muri Jendarumeri; Munyaneza Justin na Ndangamire Ephrem bari abakozi mu Rwego rw'Igihugu rushinzwe iperereza. Umwanditsi w'inama yari *Lieutenant Ingenieur* Rutakamize Gregoire.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandikomvugo y'inama yo kuwa 9 Nyakanga 1991, icyari kigamijwe kwari ugusuzuma ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryihuse ry'icyifuzo cyari cyatanzwe na Perezida wa Repubulika ku birebana n'umutekano w'Igihugu aho yari yavuze ko « *Abaturage bagomba guhabwa ibikoresho biboneye kandi bihagije byo kurwana ku busugire bw'Igihugu ku buryo nta muntu uzongera gutinyuka gutera Igihugu mu bihe biri imbere ».*Iyo nama yemeje ko uburyo bwo gushyira mu bikorwa icyo cyifuzo buhari kuko abantu babafite, kandi igice kinini cy'abaturage kikaba kigizwe n'urubyiruko (Bizimana Jean Damascène, 2014, Paji 217-218).

Ni muri urwo rwego, abayobozi ba gisivili n'aba gisirikare bahaye urubyiruko rwahyizwe mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare intwaro zirimo imbunda, *grenades* n'intwaro gakondo; akaba

aribyo byifashijwe mu kurimbura Abatutsi muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Ibi bishimangirwa n'ijambo Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yavugiye mu Ruhengeri mu nama yo kuwa 15 Ugushyingo 1992, aho yumvikanishije ko Interahamwe za MRND zigomba guhabwa ibikoresho kugira ngo igihe nikigera *zizamanuke.* Kandi koko Interahamwe zamanukiye kwica Abatutsi mu gihe cya jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi 1994.

Gutanga imbunda mu basivile ni igikorwa cyari gikuriwe n'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare. Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandikomvugo y'inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura Ruhengeri yateranye kuwa 15 Gicurasi 1992; inama yahuje abagize komite ya Perefegitura Ruhengeri ishinzwe umutekano, ba Superefe na ba Burugumesitiri bo muri iyo Perefegitura, ikibazo cyo gutanga imbunda mu baturage kiri mu byizwe kinafatirwa umwanzuro. Muri iyo nama, habajijwe imbunda zemerewe ba Superefe na ba Burugumesitiri nyuma y'amahugurwa babonye. Hasobanuwe ko abahawe imbunda ari abo muri Komini Kinigi, Nkumba na Kidaho ko abo muri Komini Butaro batarazihabwa kubera ko barangije amahugurwa vuba. Bahise basaba *Comandant OPS* Ruhengeri guha Komini Butaro imbunda zayo kugirango barebe izisigaye. Inama yakomeje yanzura ko hagomba no kwakwa izindi kugirango amahugurwa y'abaturage akomeze. Havugwa ko imbunda niziboneka Amakomini azakurikiraho yari Kigombe na Cyeru, nyuma Mukingo na Nkuli. Inama yemeje kandi ko abagize inama ya Perefegitura ishinzwe umutekano nabo bagomba guhabwa imyitozo (Inyandikomvugo y'inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura Ruhengeri yateranye kuwa 15 Gicurasi 1992, urupapuro rwa 3. Iyo nyandikomvugo Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Dr Nzabagerageza Charles yayohererej e Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ibaruwa *Confidentiel* No 023/04.09.01/16 yo kuwa 23/5/1992).

3.5.1. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, imbunda nyinshi zatangwaga na *Lieutenant* Hasengineza Boniface wayoboraga ikigo cya Mukamira afatanije na *Colonel* Bivugabagabo Marcel wari ushinzwe imirwano muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri[7].

Kugera muri Mata 1994, imbunda nyinshi zari zaratanzwe mu baturage. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko buri Segiteri yabaga ifite byibuze imbunda eshanu. Abacuruzi cyangwa abandi baturage b'Abahutu bakomeye nabo bari barahawe imbunda bavuga ngo ni izo kubarinda, ariko zose zifashishijwe mu kwica Abatutsi mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994[8].

Undi mutangabuhamya wo muri Komini Nkuli wabaye umusirikare mu ngabo za FAR yakomeje asobanura ko:

> Gutanga imbunda mu baturage ba Komini Nkuli byakozwe na *Major* Bararwerekana Joel. *Major* Bararwerekana niwe watanze imbunda muri Mukamira na Byangabo. Atanga imbunda, yabwiraga abaturage ko ari izibafasha kwirindira umutekano, ariko zaje kuba izo kwicisha Abatutsi[9].

Uretse *Major* Bararwerekana Joel uvugwa kuba yaratanze imbunda muri Komini Nkuli, havugwa kandi *Lieutenant* Hasengineza Boniface wari Umuyobozi w'Ikigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, *Major* Bizabarimana, Kabutura Anastase mwene Rwarinda Paul na Nyantama akaba yari Konseye wa Segiteri Mukamira n'abandi.

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7 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

8 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Baptiste mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

9 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya Major NDAYAMBAJE Placide mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Mu bari bafite imbunda kuva mu 1993, twavuga Kabutura Anastase, Habimana, Semapfa, Agronome wa Komini Nkuli, Tarambura, Simiyoni, Rudahinyuka Fidele, Foroto, Nkinzingabo, Baganizi, Harerimana JD, Karahari Nzirorera, Izabayo, Ndabateze, Bakame, Kazungu, Bangaya, Hakiza, Kamanzi, Ndashimye, Bandora Augustin n'abandi.

Mu Kagari ka Rugeshi, Umurenge wa Mukamira, ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi harimo imbunda na *grenades* byatanzwe na *Major* Bizabarimana, *Lieutenan*t Hasengineza Boniface, bafatanije na Konseye wa Segiteri ya Mukamira Kabutura Anasthase[10].

3.5.2. Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo

Umwe mu batangabuhamya watanze imbunda mu baturage muri Komini Mukingo, akaba yari asanzwe ari mu nzego zishinzwe umutekano, asobanura uko byakozwe muri aya magambo:

> Muri Komini Mukingo, imbunda za mbere zatanzwe mu ntangiriro ya 1993. Hari imbunda twakoreshaga zabaga zivuye kuri *position* za giririkare, ni ukuvuga twajyaga kuzana imbunda ni mugoroba tukazisubizayo mu gitondo. Imbunda zahawe abaturage zatanzwe mu buryo bwaguye muri Gashyantare 1994. Izo mbunda zatangiwe kuri Komini zizanywe na Generali Augustin Bizimungu (yari ashinzwe opération muri Perefegitura ya Byumba na Ruhengeri) na *Colonel* Bivugabagabo Marcel (yari ashinzwe imirwano mu Ruhengeri). Icyo gihe bazanye imbunda 120 zigomba gukwirakwizwa muri Segiteri zose zigize Komini Mukingo. Buri Segiteri yahawe imbunda 15. Komini Mukingo yagiraga Segiteri 8, bityo buri Konseye ahabwa imbunda 15. Nyuma yo kuzihabwa, Konseye

10 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Mukamira

niwe wamenyaga abo agomba kuziha, ariko yabaga yaratanze urutonde rw'abazazihabwa, bazi kuzikoresha. Ibi byose byakozwe mu buryo buteguye kuko abaturage bahabwaga imbunda babanje kuzigishwa kugira ngo bamenye uko bazazikoresha[11].

3.5.3. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe kimwe no mu zindi Komini, imbunda zatanzwe mbere ya 1994 inyinshi zikaba zaratanzwe mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994. Ba Konseye nibo bajyaga kuzifata kuri Komini, nyuma bakazishyikiriza aba Resiponsabule babaga bateguye abagomba kuzihabwa.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca zo mu Karere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muhoza, Akagari ka Rusagara, imbunda zatanzwe na Resiponsabule Ntibansekeye Twaha Pierre mwene Nyiringabo na Nyirabuhindori. Imbunda yatanze akaba arizo zifashishijwe mu kwica Abatutsi mu 1994.

Abaturage bahawe imbunda muri ako kagari harimo Uwamahoro vianney, Kanyabugande Saidi, Gahozaho Felcien, Ndabamenye Abubakari, Nduwamungu Félix, Renzaho Simon, Habyarimana Emmanuel, Serutoki Aminadabu, Barakengera Alphonse, Serufari Bernard, Bizandora Enias, Byamungu Dieudonne, Barore Habibu, Nzabonantuma Edson, Nzamuye Jean Pierre, Kazungu, Safari mwene Ruribikiye na Nyirambonyi, Uwayo Mussa, Niyiyita Jumaine, Semabumba mwene Karinijabo na Ngayinteranya, Sebirayi, Ntawugayuwe, Ntibabaza, Gasaidja mwene Djaruwa na Nyirakabanza, Nshakiyehe Abdu, Birandagaye mwene Kabogo, Ntagunginra mwene Barata na Nyirabaragara n'abandi.

11 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

Amaze gutanga imbunda mu baturage, Resiponsabule Ntibansekeye Twaha Pierre, yategetse ko hajyaho bariyeri. Ubwo bariyeri zahise zishyirwa kuri kaburembo, kuri Avenue Rusagara, ku rya gatandatu no kuri APICUR.

Mu Kagari ka Rusagara habarizwagamo kandi impuzamugambi za CDR zikomeye zirimo Twizerimana Juma, AyIgihugu Hamis, Emmanuel, Mwenge, Nizeyimana Silas mwene Rugamba na Tabu, Ntagungira Arroni, Saidi Regero, Runuya, Nizeyimana Evarsiste, Safari Francois, Nduwamungu Jean Chriso, Nzeyimana silas alias Abila mwene Rugamaba na Tabu Safia n'abandi.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe**,** abaturage batangiye gusaba imbunda zo gutunga ku giti cyabo kuva mu 1991 bitwaje ko hari umutekano mucye. Ubuyobozi kuva ku nzego zo hasi kugera ku bategetsi bo mu nzego zo hejuru bakabyemera hadakozwe isesengura ku ingaruka byagira mu baturage. Aha twatanga urugero rw'ibaruwa yo kuwa 18 Ugushyingo 1991 bwana Semikore Ezzechiel yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'u Rwanda, agasinyirwa na Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, aho Semikore yasabaga uruhushya rwo kugura imbunda yo mu bwoko bwa *Pistolet Carible 7,* akavuga ko impamvu ayikeneye ari uko hari ibibazo byo gusubiranamo kandi buri wese akaba ari ukwirwanaho. Muri icyo gihe, Semikore yari Umucamanza mu Rukiko rwa Kanto rwa Kigombe, akaba yari yarabaye umusirikare mu gihe cy'imyaka irindwi.

Ibaruwa igeze mu biro bya Minisitiri, nta kuzuyaza yahise yemerwa kugura no gutunga imbunda yasabye nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ibaruwa yo kuwa 28 Ugushyingo 1991 Minisitiri yandikiye Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri amumenyesha ko Urwego rw'ubutasi muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri rwasanze Semikore ari nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire bityo akaba yemerewe gutunga imbunda.

3.5.4. Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi

Mu kagari ka Rukore, umurenge wa Kinigi, hatanzwe imbunda mu baturage b'ako kagari. Mu bazihawe harimo Kiza Muhamad mwene Nsangira na Ntibagire, Habineza Haruna mwene Nsangira na Ntibagire, Nizeyimana Muhamad mwene Nnyamwema na Mayimuna, Bigiruwanga muhamadi, Habyarimana Saidi mwene Simoni na Ngerina, Ndaruhutse Jumaine mwene Iritararenga Simon, Sinzakira Senzara Selemani mwene Karihejuru Issa na Nyirakaberuka, Muhamadi Puti mwene Gwije na Marie Feza, Karera Asumani mwene Mugabomukuru na Ntawupfatarushye, Kazehe mwene Samako na Madina, Bikomo Abuba mwene Bumari, Uwayo mwene Ramazani na Tamari, Harumo Jumaine mwene Harumo na Jugiri, Barakati, Kinyume, Twagiramungu Muhamadi, Mbuzekongira Twaha mwene Gwije na Marie Feza n'abandi[12].

Mu Kagari ka Ruhanga ya I, Umurenge wa Kinigi, mu bahawe imbunda twavuga Murekezi Bonifas wavutse mu 1976, mwene Nyirankindi na Nyirankanizi; Nkanika Felcien wavutse mu 1967, mwene Nzayabarirwa na Nyiranzibaregera; Hakizimana Fidèle wavutse mu 1960, mwene Kanakuze na Nyirakabanza n'abandi.

Muri Ruhanga ya II, imbunda zahawe abitwa Sebizana Leodomir wavutse mu 1974, mwene Bazamanza na Nyirandekeyaho; Bimenyimana wavutse mu 1969, mwene Hatangimbabazi na Gicunda; Ndagijimana wavutse mu 1972, mwene Muganza na Nyirabwira; Ndayambaje wavutse mu 1978, mwene Munyampame na Nyirampazayo; Nteziyaremye wavutse mu 1978 mwene Mbanzabigwi na Nyirabakure; Semiryango wavutse mu 1963, mwene Mitima na Ntuyehe; Nsanzumuhire wavutse mu 1939, mwene Birikunzira na Nyirandimiye; Mudahogora

12 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Kinigi, Akagari ka Rukore

wavutse mu 1961, mwene Gisanabagabo na Nyiramajagwe; Nzabandora wavutse mu 1972, mwene Sebwufire na Nyiranda; Dusabemungu wavutse mu 1967, mwene Biyingoma na Nyirabagabe; Nzabandora wavutse mu 1968, mwene Sahane na Cyizanye; Sebutsikari wavutse mu 1962, mwene Mpakaniye na Nyiramikeri; Nsengiyumva Fidèle wavutse mu 1966, mwene Rwoganyanja na Nyirakajangwe; Shyirambere Felcien wavutse mu 1965, mwene Ntahonkiriye na Akimanizanye n'abandi. Muri uwo murenge, imbunda zatanzwe na Konseye Ntaganda mwene Byabagabo. Inyinshi zikaba zaratanzwe mu 1994 ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa.

Mu Kagali ka Bushokoro, Umurenge wa Kinigi, imbunda zatanzwe na *Colonel* Bivugwabagabo. Mu bazihawe twavuga Munyemvano wavutse mu 1970, mwene Ruhitama na Nyirandemeye; Kabanda wavutse mu 1965, mwene Manyurane na Nyiramasenge; Nzabanita wavutse mu 1955, mwene Bitonda na Nyiragasanzure, n'abandi.

Mu Kagari ka Rugeshi, Umurenge wa Kinigi, imbunda zatanzwe muri Gashyantare 1992, zikaba zarahawe abantu batandukanye harimo Ntamagezo wavutse mu 1945, mwene Nshakabatenda na Nyirankuliza, wahawe imbunda ku wa 08/02/1992, Hakizimfura wavutse mu 1972, mwene Nyamavubi na Nyiramberege, wahawe imbunda ku wa 08/02/1992, Munyandamutsa Théoneste wavutse mu 1970, mwene Munyabihogo na Nyirankiriza, wahawe imbunda ku wa 08/02/1992, Semucyo Andre mwene Mipira Aloys na Nyiramana, wahawe imbunda ku wa 08/02/1992, Ndayambaje Jean Damscène, mwene Ndyanabanzi na Nyiramuhashyi, wahawe imbunda ku wa 08/02/1992, Ngoga Emmanuel, mwene Sebirayi na Nyirabukobwa, wahawe imbunda ku wa 08/02/1992 n'abandi.

Mu Kagari ka Bannyisogo, Umurenge wa Kinigi, imbunda zatanzwe na Cyaka wari umusirikare mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994. Mu bazihawe harimo Munyakazi Théoneste wavutse mu 1957, mwene Musekura

na Nyirarwiri; Nzabonimpa Boniface wavutse mu 1967, mwene Munyakazi na Ndamitondero; Karikumutima Pierre Celestin (Rutitra) wavutse mu 1962, mwene Ndagijimana na Bavuga; Ndayambaje Innocent (Rugaya), mwene Bagirishya na Nyirazereye, n'abandi.

Mu Kagali ka Nyarusizi, Umurenge wa Kinigi, imbunda zatanzwe na Nyiramirimo Debora mwene Hezekiya na Nyirantamati wari Resiponsabule wa Serire, zikaba zaratanzwe mu 1992. Mu bahawe imbunda harimo Kanyeshyamba wavutse mu 1968, mwene Buregeya Samuel na Nyirangaruye Madelene; Maniraguha wavutse mu 1956, mwene Miruho na Nyirambonyurwaho; Turimurwimo Antoine wavutse mu 1945, mwene Nkubito na Kanzayire; Niyonzima wavutse mu 1970, mwene Ntamakiriro na Gatemba; n'abandi.

Mu Kagari ka Rwamikore, Umurenge wa Kinigi, ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi byatanzwe na Nzabarinda Edouard wavutse mu 1657, mwene Rusage na Nyirambonagaza, akaba yarataze ubuhiri, imipanga n'ibisuti, akaba yanarayoboye ibitero bw'ubwicanyi mu kagari. Ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi byatanzwe kandi na Ntibimenya Jean watanze umupanga n'icumu ; akaba yanarayoboye ibitero by'ubwicanyi mu kagari. Mu bahawe ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi muri ako Kagari twavuga: Rwihandagaza, Bikeka, Kanyetangi, Maniragaba, Sebishyimbo, Bijeberi, Kabera, Barakagira, Ntibimenya, Munyakabanza, Serunwe, Hategeka, Murekezi, Gahuga, Minota, Nsengiyumva, Nambaje, Kagwera, Zimukunde, Kanyeshyamba, Mugarura, Semutsatsi, Ndishutse, Munyandatwa, Nirere, Serundaga, Nkulikiyinka, Basigariye, Bimenyimana na Pangarasi n'abandi.

Mu Kagari ka Rushubi, Umurenge wa Kinigi, imbunda zatanzwe na Konseye Kavarisi Nibishaka mwene Sebashyitsi na Baryana. Mu bahawe imbunda harimo Bandorayingwe wavutse mu 1955, mwene Mahungiro na Nyirarubera, wahawe imbunda mu 1991; Bimenyimana wavutse mu 1960, mwene Bajinya na Ntawumurenga, wahawe imbunda mu 1994; Mbonankira

wavutse mu 1962, mwene Munyaruguru na Karuyenzi, wahawe imbunda mu 1994; Habyarimana wavutse mu 1968, mwene Batate na Nirasinamenye, wahawe imbunda muri 1994; Hakizimana wavutse mu 1971, mwene Munyarukato na Ntahoruburiye, wahawe imbunda mu 1994; Munyarugarama wavutse mu 1963, mwene Ntirusekanwa na Nyiramparirwa, wahawe imbunda mu 1994; Kamayubonye wavutse mu 1972, mwene Busizori na Nzapfurundi, wahawe imbunda; Kananiye wavutse mu 1959, mwene Sekabagazi na Kanyange, wahawe imbunda mu 1993; Nzitabimfura wavutse mu 1967, mwene Sinkirangabo na Ntahoruburiye, wahawe imbunda mu 1991; Ngirumbatse wavutse mu 1958, mwene Bakonda na Nyiramaruhe, wahawe imbunda mu 1993; Karekezi wavutse mu 1960, mwene Nyirimanzi na Nyirakabanza, yahawe imbunda mu 1994 n'abandi.

Hari kandi ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi byatanzwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Komini ya Kinigi. Mu babihawe harimo: Sengoma mwene Sebushishi na Mburanumwe, wahawe imbunda, Mbarushimana mwene Semanza na Nyirandatira, wahawe imbunda, Munyamashyaka Alphonse wavutse mu 1949, mwene Nduhira na Nyiramage wahawe imbunda n'abandi. Mu Murenge wa Bisate abahawe imbunda harimo Sempabuka Joseph mwene Nyirinkindi na Nyirantaho; Bigaruka wavutse mu 1962, mwene Bahizi na Nyirakaruho; Rucyahana Faustin wavutse mu 1950, mwene Sengabo na Barayagwiza n'abandi.

3.5.5. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba na Ndusu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba, imbunda zatanzwe mu baturage haherewe ku bari Abakonseye. Mu bazihawe hari Konseye wa Segiteri Musanzu Bukokwe Francois, Konseye wa Segiteri Gahunga: Munyawera Faustin, Konseye wa Segiteri Rwasa: Rukaka n'abandi. Imbunda bakaba barazihawe na *Major*

Tharcisse Muvunyi alias Gafuni wayoboraga ingabo za FAR mu gace ka Kigombe na Nkumba[13].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ndusu naho imbunda zahawe abaturage. Nk'uko bigaragara mu Nyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca zo mu Murenge wa Busengo, Akagari ka Kamwumba, imbunda zatanzwe n'inzego z'ubuyobozi mu 1994. Mubazihawe harimo: Twahirwa mwene Nkiriyehe na Nyirakasheja, Kayumba mwene Kamuhanda na Nyirabakiga; Rusingiza mwene Barashibije na Ntamashakiro, Nyakamwe mwene Muneza na Mukundufite, Concorde mwene Baheba na Ngendanshira, Nzatumande mwene Bakuzankundi na Kasine.

3.5.6. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu**,** imbunda zakwirakwijwe mu baturage cyane cyane mu nsoresore zari mu mutwe w'Interahamwe. Mu bahawe imbunda harimo Evariste, Kabanza, Munyemana Simon, Barabwiriza, Gasizirwa Gaspard, Abimana, Ndahayo, Bayanga, Hategekimana Elias, Ndorimana n'abandi. Aba bose bakaba barakomokaga muri Segiteri Ruhangari. Imbunda bazihawe na Konseye wa Ruhangari, Kanyabishashara, azikuye kuri Komini.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko z'inkiko Gacaca, mu Kagali ka Rusagara, Umurenge wa Gakenke, imbunda zatanzwe na Bararuha Hemedi wari Resiponsabule akaba mwene Ntiziyoboza na Kampire afatanije na Rwimo Mathias wari Konseye wa Segiteri ya Gakenke akaba mwene Mponangira na Nyirankenuye, Twagirayezu p. n'abasirikare. Mu bahawe imbunda muri ako Kagali harimo Habimana Bonaventure, Miliyari mwene Ngirabatware, Bizimana Innocent mwene Gahinyuza, Hitayezu mwene Basomingera, Ntibatekeza na Kavutse mwene Shyirambere.

13 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NZAMUYE Adrien mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Mu Murenge wa Gakenke, Akagari ka Gakindo, imbunda zahawe Ntibarwiga Faustin mwene Sebinyenzi na Seruye, Hirani Justin mwene Nsangira na Nyirabavakure, Uzabakiriho mwene Makuba na Nyiramatama, Nyirakabuga Adèle mwene Ndabirora na Nyirabanzi, Kazungu Nicodem mwene Ngara na Ntumukobwa. Aba bose bakaba barazihawe na Perefe Basile. Mu Kagali ka Gitenga, imbunda zatanzwe na Konseye Rwimo Mathias mwene Mbonankira na Nyirankenuye. Mubazihawe harimo: Ndagijimana mwene Rubagare na Nyiramanegu; Habyarimana mwene Ntakamaro na Akimana; Musengamana mwene Rwagakore na Nyirandeze. Mu Kagali ka Sitwe, imbunda zatanzwe na Burugumesitiri Twagirayezu Pierre. Mu bazihawe harimo Rukeratabaro mwene Munyamagaju na Nyirakamondo, wahawe imbunda kuwa 1/5/1994; Maniragaba Bunane mwene Ngirabatanyurwa na Nyirapfakaramye, wahawe imbunda kuwa 24/4/1994, Mburahose Augustin mwene Nyirinkwaya na Nyiramparaye, wahawe imbunda kuwa 24/4/1994. Muri aka Kagali habaga umutwe w'Interahamwe watangijwe na Nturanyenabo Charles mwene Mibyare na Nyirakabera; Nduwayezu Deo mwene ntawukiramwabo na Kabagwira; Manirafasha mwene Hakizimana na Niyoyita. Mu bahise binjira muri uyu mutwe muri aka Kagali twavuga Bayituranayo mwene Bitegekwanimana, Alexis mwene Ntawanguwe, Bivugire mwene Kajemundimwe, Laurent mwene Nikombasanze, Munyengabe mwene Maburanturo, Bisurere mwene Maniragaba, Bigirimana mwene Bazungu; Niyibirere. Uyu mutwe ukaba waragize uruhare rutaziguye mu guhiga Abatutsi muri Jenoside mu 1994.

3.5.7. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama**,** gutunga imbunda mu baturage ni igikorwa cyatangijwe gihereye mu buyobozi bwa Komini. Ibi bikagaragazwa n'ibaruwa yo kuwa 14/9/1993 Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama bwana Hatangimana Francois yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'Igihugu asaba kwemerwa gutunga imbunda. Mu ibaruwa ye avuga ko impamvu asaba

imbunda ariko bari mubihe by'intambara, kandi akaba asabwa gutabara ahagaragaye urugomo n'ubujura; bityo imbunda asaba ikaba yajya imufasha kwirwanaho mu gihe yaramuka ahuye n'ihohoterwa. Ibi ariko ntabwo umuntu yabifataho ukuri kubera ko hari inzego zishinzwe umutekano, zemerewe gukoresha imbunda kandi aho yashoboraga kwitabazwa hose nta na rimwe yashoboraga gutabara wenyine.

Ibaruwa yo kuwa 14/9/1993 Burugumesitiri Hatangimana Francois yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'Igihugu asaba gutizwa imbunda

HATANGIMANA François
Commune NYAKINAMA
BP 55 RUHENGERI
Tél. 46429
Fax : 46892.

Nyakinama, le 14/09/1993

Objet : Demande d'autorisation de détention et port d'arme.

A monsieur le Ministre de
la Défense Nationale
KIGALI

S/Couvert de Monsieur le Préfet
de la Préfecture RUHENGERI

République Rwandaise • Préfecture RUHENGERI

Monsieur le Ministre,

J'ai l'insigne honneur de recourir à votre haute autorité pour solliciter une autorisation de détention et de port d'arme.

En effet, Monsieur le Ministre, je suis Bourgmestre de la Commune NYAKINAMA en Préfecture de RUHENGERI Commune qui vit des conditions difficiles inhérentes à la guerre. Comme je suis toujours obligé d'intervenir dans plusieurs cas de crime et de banditisme, cette arme pourra me servir comme un dissuasif ou me défendre en cas d'agression imminente.

Tout en comptant sur la bonne compréhension avec laquelle vous voudriez bien examiner ma requête, je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Ministre, à l'expression de ma haute considération.

Le Bourgmestre de la
Commune NYAKINAMA
HATANGIMANA François.

Abaturage bamaze kumenya ko Burugumesitiri yasabye imbunda ye kugiti cye, nabo bahise bandika bazisaba. Mubanditse twabashije kumenya muri ubu bushakashatsi twavuga Ntibazirikana Ezechiel wari Konseye wa Segiteri Kabere II na Uwimana Amos wari Konseye wa Segiteri Mururi.

Ntibazirikana Ezechiel kimwe na mugenzi we Uwimana Amos basabye imbunda bavuga ko ari izo kurinda umutekano muri Segiteri zabo kubera ko abaturage bari kwicwa hakoreshejwe imbunda, kandi ko hari udutsiko turi hirya no hino turi guhungabanya umutekano. Gusaba imbunda ntabwo wari umuti w'ikibazo bavuga, byari urwitwazo rubafasha kumvikanisha icyifuzo cyabo. Iyo biza kuba koko ikibazo cy'umutekano byari kumenyeshwa inzego z'umutekano akaba arizo zifate ingamba.

Kuba aba Bakonseye bombi barasabye imbunda bakurikiranye na Burugumesitiri, kandi bakabikorera umunsi umwe, biragaraza ko nta wundi wabagiriye inama uretse umuyobozi wabo nawe wari wamaze kuyisaba.

Muri rusange izi mbunda zasabwaga nta kindi abayobozi bazisabiraga uretse kuzikoresha mu guhohotera no gutera ubwoba abataravugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bwariho cyane cyane Abatutsi bitaga umwanzi n'ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Kubera kandi ko inzego z'ubuyobozi nazo zabaga zizi neza icyo izo ntwaro zizakora, bahitaga bemeza ubusabe bw'abazisabye, maze bukohererezwa Minisitiri nk'uko bigaragara mu mabaruwa akurikira:

Ibaruwa yo kuwa 27/9/1993 bwana Ntibazirikana Ezechiel yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'Igihugu asaba gutizwa imbunda

NTIBAZIRIKANA Ezéchiel
Konseye wa Segiteri KABERE II
Komini NYAKINAMA
BP 55 RUHENGERI.

Nyakinama, le 27/09/1993

Bwana Ministiri w'Ingabo z'Igihgu
BP 23 KIGALI

Binyujijwe kuri Bwana Perefe wa
Perefegitura RUHENGERI

République Rwandaise
Préfecture RUHENGERI

Impamvu : Gusaba gutizwa imbunda.

Binyujijwe kuri Bwana Bourgmestre
wa Komini NYAKINAMA

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HATANGIMANA François
Bourgmestre

République Rwandaise
Commune NYAKINAMA

Bwana Ministiri,

Mbandikiye iyi baruwa mbasaba ko mwantiza imbunda yo kwifashisha mukurinda umutekano muri Segiteri kuber impamvu zikurikira :

1. Abaturage bari kwicwa hakoreshejwe imbunda
2. Udutsiko turi hirya no hino turi guhungabanya umutekano
3. Abantu bafite imigambi yo kunyica kubera ko nzi imigambi yabo mibi

kubera izo mpamvu zose mvuze haraguru, abantu hasigaye haterwa uburyo bwo kubatabara bukaba buke kubera kwitabaza ibibando gusa tukagerayo abagizi ba nabi bigendeye kera.

Bwana Ministiri, mutuboneye imbunda yo gutabarana byadufasha n'abanyamigambi mibi bakayireka.

Mugihe tugitegereje igisubizo cyanyu cyiza, Bwana Ministiri, tubaye tubashimiye.

Konseye wa Segiteri KABERE II
NTIBAZIRIKANA Ezéchiel.

Ibaruwa yo kuwa 27/9/1993 Uwimana Amos yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'Igihugu asaba gutizwa imbunda

UWIMANA Amos
Konseye wa Segiteri MUGURI
Komini NYAKINAMA
BP 55 RUHENGERI.

Nyakinama, le 27/09/1993

Bwana Ministiri w'Ingabo z'u Rwanda
BP 23 KIGALI

Binyujijwe kuri Bwana Perefe wa
Perefegitura RUHENGERI

Impamvu : Gusaba gutizwa imbunda.

Binyujijwe kuri Bwana Bourgmestre
wa Komini NYAKINAMA

HATANGIMANA François
Bourgmestre

Commune NYAKINAMA

Bwana Ministiri,

Mbandikiye mbasaba ko mwantiza imbunda yo kwifashisha mu kurinda umutekano muri Segiteri kubera impamvu zikurikira :

1. Abaturage bari kwicwa hakoreshejwe imbunda
2. Udutsiko turi hirya no hino turi guhungabanya umutekano
3. Abantu bafite imigambi yo kunyica kubera ko nzi imigambi yabo mibi.

kubera izo mpamvu zose mvuze haraguru, ahantu hasigaye hatewa uburyo bwo kubatabara bukaba buke kubera kwitabaza ibibando gusa tukageraho abagizi ba nabi bigendeye kera.

Bwana Ministiri, mutuboneye imbunda yo gutabarana byadufasha n'abanyamigambi mibi bakayireka.

Mu gihe tugitegereje igisubizo cyanyu cyiza, Bwana Ministiri, tubaye tubashimiye.

Konseye wa Segiteri MUGURI
UWIMANA Amos.

Uretse izi mbunda abaturage bisabiye ubuyobozi bukuru bw'Igihugu, hari izindi zatanzwe mu baturage, ubuyobozi bukabigiramo uruhare. Aha twatanga urugero rwo mu yahoze ari Segiteri ya Kabere III, Akagari ka Buhamo, aho Burugumesitiri Hatangimana François yatanze imbunda aziha Mbyariyehe Pierre Célestin mwene Mugabowinda na Nyirakarehe, na Mahirane Augustin mwene Mwitonda na Ntamitarizo.

Mu yandi makomini, gutanga intwaro mu baturage byakorwaga na ba Konseye bafatanije n'inzego za gisirikare cyangwa Burigadiye wa Komini. Imbunda bakaba barazihabwaga n'ubuyobozi bwa Komini hamwe na ba Burigadiye[14].

Uretse intwaro zatanzwe mbere ya Jenoside, kunyanyagiza intwaro mu baturage byarakomeje no mu gihe cy'ishyiwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, bikoranwa umurava udasanzwe. Intwaro nyinshi zahawe abaturage mu ntangiriro y'ukwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994 igihe Jenoside yari irimbanije[15]. Ibi byashimangiwe n'undi mutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi wavuze ko gutanga imbunda mu baturage byakozwe cyane kuva mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1994, ubwo Jenoside yakorwaga mu duce twose tw'Igihugu[16].

Muri Mata 1994, abatari barahawe imbunda basabwe gushaka intwaro gakondo, harimo ntampongano y'umwanzi, imipanga n'ibindi kugira ngo zibafashe kujya guhiga no kwica Abatutsi[17].

14 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

15 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

16 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAGIJIMANA Jean Baptiste mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

17 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

3.6. Inama zo kunoza ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal mu ijoro ryo ku itariki ya 6 rishyira tariki ya 7 Mata 1994, habaye inama zitandukanye zafatiwemo imyanzuro yo gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri naho habaye inama zitandukanye:

3.6.1. Inama yo kuwa 6-7 Mata 1994 yakoreshejwe na Nzirorera Joseph

Nk'uko abatangabuhamya babigaragarije Urukiko Mpuzamahanga Mpanabyaha rwashyiriwe u Rwanda (ICTR):

> Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal kuwa 06 Mata 1994, Joseph Nzirorera yahamagaje inama yabeyere mu nzu y'umubyeyi we iherereye mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo; inama yatangiye ahagana saa munani z'ijoro irangira saa kumi za mu gitondo. Iyo nama ikaba yaritabiriwe n'abantu batandukanye barimo: *Colonel* Ephrem Setako; Joseph Nzirorera wari Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa MRND; Augustin Bizimungu wari ushinzwe imirwano mu Karere ka Ruhengeri; Casimir Bizimungu wari Minisitiri w'Ubuzima; Esdras Baheza wari umucuruzi mu Byangabo akaba n'umuyobozi w'Interahamwe zaho; Jean Baptiste Nyabusore wayoboraga *Institut supérieur d'agriculture et de l'élevage*; Jonathan Bambonye wari umuyobozi wa CDR muri Komini Mukingo; Jean Damascène Niyoyita wari umuyobozi wa MRND muri Komini Mukingo; Dominique Gatsimbanyi wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli; Assiel Ndisetse wari Konseye wa Segiteri ya Busogo hamwe na Emmanuel Harerimana wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo. Nyuma y'inama hakajijwe umurego mu gushyiraho bariyeri

> ahantu hatandukanye, Interahamwe zihita zitangira kwisuganya muri *Centre* ya Byangabo, ubwicanyi buhita butangira ubwo[18].

Iyo nama yafashe icyemezo ko Abatutsi bicwa. Hemejwe ko hatangwa imbunda, no gushyiraho bariyeri. Generali Augustin Bizimungu ashingwa gushyira mu bikorwa icyo cyemezo. Generali Augustin Bizimungu yahise afata umwanzuro wo gutanga imbunda aziha abari ba Konseye na bo baziha abaturage. Imbunda zahawe na none abayobozi b'Interahamwe barimo Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli na Baheza Esdras.

Nyuma y'iyo nama ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 hahise hicwa Abatutsi benshi hirya no hino muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri cyane cyane muri Komini Mukingo, imitungo yabo irasahurwa, inzu ziratwikwa ku buryo iminsi yakurikiyeho Interahamwe n'abagize umutwe witwara gisirikare w'Amahindure bagiye gufasha abicanyi mu tundi duce dutandukanye. Ni muri urwo rwego Interahamwe zo muri Komini Mukingo zagiye kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye mu Rukiko rw'Ubujurire rwa Ruhengeri, i Nyabihu, i Musumba (Nkuli) na Nyakinama.

3.6.2. Inama yo kuwa 6-7 Mata 1994 yabereye kuri Komini Nkuli

Mu ijoro ryo kuwa 6-7 ubwo Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yari amaze gupfa, Kajelijeli Juvénal yakoresheje inama itunguranye yateraniye muri *cantine* y'abakozi ba Komini Nkuli, ikaba yari yegeranye n'ibiro bya Komini. Iyo nama yitabiriwe na Kajelijeli, Shadrack Sendugu wari Perezida wa MRND, Sebazungu wari burigadiye wa Komini, Boniface Ntabareshya wari burigadiye wungirije, Iyakaremye wari Perezida wa CDR, na Ajida Shefu Karorero. Muri iyo nama Kajelijeli yabwiye abayitabiriye

18 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Ephrem Setako, Case No. ICTR-04-81-T, page 26

amagambo akurikira: « *[…]Muzi neza ko Abatutsi ari bo bishe—aribo bahanuye indege ya Perezida. Mutegereje iki kugira ngo mwikize umwanzi »*. Avuga umwanzi nta wundi yashakaga kuvuga uretse Umututsi. Shadrack Sendugu yahise abwira Kajeirjeri ko nta ntwaro zihari zo kugaba igitero mu baturage. Akimara kubyumva, Kajelijeli yahise ahaguruka, ajyana na Boniface Ntabareshya wari burigadiye wungirije gutelefonera mu biro by'abapolisi aho kuri Komini. Bagarutse, Kajelijeli yamenyesheje abari muri iyo nama ko *Major* Bizabarimana yemeye ko abagezaho ibikoresho ku biro bya Komini mu gitondo, kuwa 7 Mata 1994. Asoza inama, Kajelijeli yasezeranyije abari aho ko azabohereza Interahamwe zo muri Komini ya Mukingo kugira ngo zibatere inkunga mu kugaba igitero muri Serire ya Kinyababa[19].

Mu rwego rwo kubahiriza imyanzuro yafatiwe mu nama ya Kajelijeli yavuzwe haruguru, mu gitondo cyo kuwa 7 Mata 1994 hagati ya saa kumi n'imwe na saa kumi n'ebyiri, imodoka yo mu bwoko bwa *Land Rover* yageze ku biro bya Komini Nkuli ivuye mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Iyo modoka yari izanye imbunda zo mu bwoko bwa *Kalashnikov*, amagerenade n'amasanduku y'amasasu; byoherejwe na *Major* Bizabarimana wayoboraga ikigo cya Mukamira. Sendugu Shadrack wari Perezida w'ishyaka rya MRND niwe wakiriye izo ntwaro. Ako kanya zahise zinyanyagizwa mu Nterahamwe n'Amahindure, maze bahera ubwo batangira guhiga no kwica Abatutsi hirya no hino[20].

Ibikoresho byavuzwe haruguru bimaze gutangwa muri icyo gitondo, hahise hategurwa igitero cyagabwe ku Batutsi bari batuye muri Serire ya Kinyababa, muri Komini Nkuli kiyobowe na Shadrack Sendugu wari Perezida wa MRND. Icyo gitero cyarimo abagize urubyiruko barenga ijana bitwaraga gisirikare,

19 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case No ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 140, Igika cya 466
20 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case No ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 144, Igika cya 474

bafashijwe n'utundi dutsiko tw'urubyiruko rwo muri Komini Nkuli. Iki gitero cyitabiriwe kandi n'abantu bo muri Komini Mukingo bari bayobowe na Iyakaremye wakomokaga muri Segiteri Gitwa, akaba yari Perezida wa CDR. Cyarimo kandi abantu baturutse mu misozi ya Rukoma, abasirikare bavuye Mukamira n'abasirikare bari bambaye imyenda ya gisiviri bari kuri IGA. Abagabye igitero bari bitwaje imbunda n'intwaro gakondo zirimo amacumu, amahiri n'imipanga. Abagabye igitero biraye mu miryango igera kuri 12 y'Abatutsi maze bicamo abantu bagera kuri 80, basenya amazu yose yo muri Serire Kinyababa, banasahura imitungo y'abishwe. Umunsi uciye ikibu, Interahamwe zatashye zivuga ko « *zakuyeho umwanda »*, bashaka kuvuga ko Abatutsi babamazeho[21].

3.6.3. Inama yo kuwa 9 Mata 1994 yabereye mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde

Kuwa 9 Mata 1994, hakoreshejwe inama kuri Komini Gatonde, iyi nama yari yatumiwemo abantu batandukanye harimo intiti n'abanyapolitike. Ubutumwa bwatangiwe muri iyo nama bwavugaga ko bagomba kwikiza umwanzi, ariko havugwako bagomba guhera ku bagabo, abagore n'abakobwa bakaba babaretse, ngo ni ababo. Mu bitabiriye iyo nama harimo Kamanzi wari umwarimu, akaba yarayoboraga MRND muri Komini. N'ubwo byavuzweko babanza kwica abagabo n'abasore, ntibyateye kabiri, kuko bishe batarobanuye: yaba umugore, umwana, umusaza, umukecuru, bose barishwe. Ababashije kurokoka bahungiye kuri Superefegitura ya Busengo no ku Kiriziya Gatorika i Janja[22].

21 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case N° ICTR-98-44A-T, Paji ya 148, Igika cya 487

22 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKANKUSI Dorothé mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

3.7. Inama zakoreshejwe mu gihe cya Jenoside

Mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, hakozwe inama zitandukanye, inyinshi muri zo zitegura aho bari bujye kwica izindi ziyobya uburari ko ubwicanyi bwahagaze. Abayobozi bakomeje gutumiza no kuyobora bene izo nama. Muri icyo gihe, Nsabumugisha Basile wari Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yakoresheje inama yabereye muri Komini Gatonde ahitwa mu Rutaki ku Mashuri Abanza, avuga ko ubwicanyi bwarangiye, maze asaba Abatutsi bari bihishe kwigaragaza[23]. Ibi ariko byari amayeri kuko Abatutsi bari bagerageje kwihisha, bavuye mu bwihisho bahita babica. Umutangabuhamya twaganiriye yatubwiye uko byamugendekeye nyuma yo kwigaragaza agendeye ku butumwa bwari bwatanzwe na Perefe. Yagize ati:

> Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile amaze gukoresha inama asaba Abatutsi bihishe kwigaragaza ngo Jenoside yarangiye, nari kumwe na murumuna wanjye barabitubwira, ubwo twahise tuva aho twari twihishe, hari mu masaha ya ni mugoroba, twanyuze mu nzira ariko ntabwo twagenderaga hamwe, umwe yaragendaga yarenga ikorosi undi akabona guhinguka. Kubera ko arijye wari mukuru ninjye wagiye imbere; ubwo ariko naje gusanga ahantu kugasozi bita mu Mburamazi, hari bariyeri hicaye abantu bafite imihoro n'ibihiri ubwo bariyamira bavuza induru ngo babonye umwana w'Umututsi bagiye kwica kuko ngo bari bamaze akanya batari kwica. Barampagarika bamara umwanya bandeba mu biganza, baranyitegereza cyane bamwe bakavuga ngo uyu ni Umututsi abandi bakavuga ngo siwe; bakomeza kunsiganira nyuma baravuga ngo *aaahhu* uyu niyigenndere, ubwo baba barandetse ndagenda. Ngeze imbere ndenze ikorosi

23 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HARERIMANA Ephigénie mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

> nzamuka ahantu hejuru nihisha mu bishyimbo ariko hejuru yabo, ubwo wa murumuna wanjye aba araje, abagezeho baramufashe ngo uyu niwe, bamufata ku ngufu abagabo bose bari bahari barangije baramucukurira aho munsi y'umuhanda ku gakingo kari gahari, bamushyira aho. Bahise batangira kuvuga ko na wawundi yari we ko bagomba kujya kumushaka, ubwo bakomeza umuhanda wose baranshaka barambura, ibyo bakoze byose narababonaga kuko nasaga nuri haruguru yabo. Nyuma bwarije ndakomeza njya ku matongo mpasanga umugore twari duturanye arambwira ati ubu uje gukora iki ko na mama wawe baraye bamwicanye na bucura wanyu bakamuhamba, nyuma bakababwira ko yari afite icyuma (tige) mu kaguru bakaza bakongera bakamutaburura bakamukuramo iyo tije, arambwira ati none rero nawe subira aho wari wihishe batakwica, ubwo angiriye inama gutyo nsubira hamwe nari nihishe[24].

Undi mutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yasobanuye iby'umukobwa witwa Musabayire Modesta, wagombaga gushyingirwa kuwa 7 Mata 1994 ariko umugabo we yicwa ku munsi w'ubukwe. Amaze kubura umukunzi we nawe yarahizwe, ariko agerageza kwihisha. Yaje kwigaragaza nyuma yo kumva ubutumwa bwa Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile wavugaga ko ubwicanyi bwarangiye, ngo Abatutsi bihishe bihishure. Ubu butumwa bwaje gutuma ava aho yari yihishe, yerekeza i Muhira. Ageze iwabo, bahise bamuvugiriza induru, abyumvise arahunga, yerekera kwa Bagiramenyo Ariade wari Resiponsabule wa Serire Bunyironko. Ubwo ariko Interahamwe zaje kumufata zimwica urubozo, zimwicira mu itongo ry'iwabo zabanje kumushinyagurira, zirangiza zimuteye igisongo cy'ikawa, apfa atyo. Mu bamwishe harimo Ntamunsi, Hakiza, Rwagakira n'abandi[25].

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24 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya AKIMANIZANYE Salama mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

25 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HARERIMANA Ephigénie mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, inama zaberaga ku gasozi ka Murehe mu Kagari ka Gakinda muri Rubona na Janja. Zikaba zarahuzaga Interahamwe zitumijwe na Runoza, Ntawumurenga, Murindabigwi[26].

Usibye izo nama zavuzwe haruguru, hari n'utunama twabaga mu ibanga hirya no hino nko ku biro by'Amakomini, mu ngo z'abantu bakomeye nk'abayobozi, abasirikare, abayobozi ba MRND, aba burugurumesiti cyangwa abaperefe n'abakozi ba Leta. Zose zabaga zinoza uburyo Abatutsi bataricwa bakwicwa, n'uburyo baboneka.

26 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HABIMANA Cyprien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

IGICE CYA KANE: ISHYIRWA MU BIKORWA RYA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU 1994 MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA RUHENGERI

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yashyizwe mu bikorwa uhereye mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. N'ubwo Abatutsi bari baratangiye kwicwa kuva mu 1991 mu makomini atandukanye, Jenoside yo mu 1994 yaje ari simusiga yibasira abari bararokotse ubwicanyi bwa hato na hato hagati ya 1990 na 1993. Abatutsi bakaba barishwe mu makomini yose yari agize Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. By'umwihariko, Abatutsi benshi biciwe ahantu hatandukanye muri Komini Nkuli, Mukingo, Kinigi, Kigombe, Nyarutovu, Gatonde n'ahandi.

Mu kwica Abatutsi, abagabye ibitero barimo abaturage basanzwe, Interahamwe, abapolisi ba Komini, abajandarume, n'abasirikare. Abari mu bitero babaga bashyigikiwe kandi bayobowe n'abayobozi bo mu nzego za Leta, iz'umutekano, abayobozi b'amashyaka ya MRND na CDR n'abandi. Intwaro zakoreshejwe harimo imbunda, amagrenades, imihoro, amacumu, amahiri n'izindi ntwaro gakondo.

Mu rwego rwo gushishikariza abaturage kwitabira Jenoside, abamotsi bamenyeshaga mu rukerera uko ubwicanyi buza gukorwa, bagendaga bakoresha-indangururamajwi (*megaphone*) babwira abaturage b'Abahutu uko gahunda iteye, banatangaza aho Abatutsi bihishe kugira ngo bajye kuhabicira[27].

Abatutsi biciwe mu ngo zabo, abandi babicira aho bari bahungiye mu nsengero cyangwa mu bigo by'Abihayimana ndetse no mu nyubako zakoreragamo ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta nka Komini, Superefegitura, Inzu zikoreramo ubutabera n'ahandi.

27 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKANKUSI Dorothé mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

4.1. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa uhereye mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Mu gitondo cya kare, bariyeri zashyizwe ahantu hatandukanye kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi uhunga. Guhera saa ine za mugitondo, Abatutsi bari batuye hirya no hino muri iyo Komini batangiye kwicwa no gutwikirwa amazu.

Umwe mu batangabuhamya asobanura uko byagenze mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 mata 1994:

> Icyo gihe narindi iwanje mu rugo, mu gitondo cya kare numva itangazo kuri radiyo Rwanda ngo indege ya Habyarimana yarashwe ko abaturage bose baguma mu ngo zabo. Nkulikije ibyo nari nsanzwe mbona numvise ko nubundi byongeye guhinduka, ko bagiye kutwica. Mu ma saa tatu za mugitondo ubwo nari nicaye hanze, nabonye igitero kirimo abicanyi barenga mirongo ine kijya kwica umuryango wa Joel Kanyeshuri. Umuryango we wari mugari ugizwe n'abantu barenga 70, bose barishwe, uwarokotse ni Kayitsinga Faustin. Ubwo bagiye iwe numva amasasu aturika induru zivuga, nyuma y'amasaha abiri mbona berekeje iwanjye kuko bamanukaga ndeba, ubwo nyura hagati mu mazu, hepfo gato hari igishayoti ahantu bari barahinze mu ruhavu, niyorosa ibishishwa by'ibyatsi. Bamaze kugera mu rugo bakubise urugi, bahamagara izina ryanjye, bivugisha ngo ko tumanutse tumureba agiye he? Ubwo bakurikira ikirenge aho nanyuze, bati murebere muri icyo gishayoti. Ibyo bakoraga byose nabaga mbareba. Igishayoti baragitemye barambura bakinyorosaho amahirwe nagize nuko batankandagiye, ubwo barambura bati buriya yagiye kwa se wabo bavuga Munyentarama. Bagiye iwe, bamaze kubica babara imirambo ngo kanaka ntiyabonetse, bavuga

njye. Bigeze saa munani z'amanywa, barakomeje bajya guhiga abatari bishwe[28].

4.1.1 Abatutsi biciwe mu rusengero rw'Abadiventisiti b'umunsi wa Karindwi rwa Hesha

Ubwo Jenoside yatangiraga gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu gitondo cyo kuwa 7 Mata 1994, Abatutsi bahungiye mu rusengero rw'Abadivantiste rwa Hesha rwari ruherereye muri Segiteri ya Mukamira, Serire ya Hesha. Bigeze nimugoroba ibitero bigizwe n'Interahamwe byaje kubica ariko bagerageza kwirwanaho, nyuma ariko haza Interahamwe nyinshi n'abasirikare, birara mu Batutsi bari muri urwo rusengero barabica. Abatutsi barenga magana ane (400) biciwe muri urwo rusengero, bakaba bari baturutse ahantu hatandukanye. Abenshi bari baturutse muri Segiteri ya Jenda. Hari n'abandi bari baturutse muri Komini Karago ndetse na Mukingo[29].

Mu bari bayoboye ibitero byishe Abatutsi ku rusengero rw'Abadiventisiti rwa Hesha harimo Harerimana Gervais wari umucuruzi, Ahompagaze wari umucuruzi, Habimana wari umucuruzi, Rudahinyuka wari umucuruzi, Izabayo wari Agronome wa Komini n'abandi[30].

Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli Gatsimbanyi Dominique, Konseye Nyirakamanzi Phoibe na Konseye Kabutura Anasthase bagize uruhare rukomeye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari mu rusengero rw'Abadivantisiti b'umunsi wa karindwi rwa Hesha.

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28 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

29 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

30 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, umurenge wa Mukamira.

Nkuko bivugwa n'abatangabuhamya batandukanye, ubwo Abatutsi bicirwaga ku rusengero rw'Abadivantiste rwa Hesha muri Segiteri Mukamira, Burugumesitiri Gatsimbanyi Dominique ari kumwe na Konseye Nyirakamanzi Phoibe na Kabutura Anatshase, bagiye aho Abatutsi bari bahungiye ku rusengero, Burugumesitiri Gatsimbanyi abaza abaturage harimo n'Interahamwe impamvu badakora, bamubwiraga ko batinye kwicira Abatutsi mu rusengero, we na Konseye Nyirakamanzi bababwira ko nta kibazo bazarukoropa. Nyuma yo kwizeza abaturage ko nta kibazo, ko nta n'ingaruka bizabagiraho, Interahamwe zifatanije n'abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Mukamira barashe mu rusengero bateramo za *grenades*, Abatutsi amagana bagwamo. Abatutsi bamaze kwicwa, Konseye Nyirakamanzi afatanije na Konseye Kabutura bahamagaje abaturage bakoropa urusengero kugira ngo ku isabato basengeremo. Ni ko byagenze, bamaze gukoropa, ku isabato basengeyemo uko bisanzwe[31].

Usibye Abatutsi biciwe mu rusengero rwa Hesha, abandi biciwe mu ngo zabo, n'aho bageragezaga kujya kwihisha hatandukanye. Umutangabuhamya wemera uruhare rwe muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi wireze akemera ibyaha yakoreye mu murenge wa Jenda, akanabisabira imbabazi, asobanura ko :

> Ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, saa yine za mugitondo, Ndinkabandi Gaspard yagiye gufata imbunda mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, ageze hafi y'iwe asanga umuryango wa Akumwami bawutatanije bari kuwicira ku gasozi. Ababishe ni Byigero, Baganizi, Mutangana, Papayi na Rukara. Avuga ko yageze kwa Binyavanga asanga Masigane na Munyabarame bamaze kwica Nyiramabanju nawe yica Nyirantabiganya, yabikoze ari kumwe na Mbonariba. Avuga kandi ko bagiye kwa Gafuranende asangayo Byigero na Munyawera bica umuryango wa Gafuranende, Gasisiro amuzanira uwitwa

31 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Nyirabeza ahita amurasa, arapfa. Yarashe kandi nuwitwa Asinati, nawe ahita apfa. Afatanije na Byigero, Mutangana, Baganizi na Gasisiro, Kabanda, Gacaniro, Byigero, Nsengiyumva, Masigane, Nyirinkwaya na Hategekimana bishe kandi Nyirantabigaya n'umuryango we, Nyirabeza kiracunda n'umuryango we, Akumwami Enoki n'abandi[32].

4.1.2. Abatutsi biciwe muri Serire Kinyababa, Segiteri Gitwa

Abatutsi bari batuye muri Serire Kinyababa, Segiteri Gitwa bagabweho ibitero ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 mu gitondo. Icyo gitero cyagabwe mu rwego rwo gushyira mu bikorwa ibyari byumvikanyweho mu nama yari yaraye iyobowe na Kajelijeli muri *Cantine* ya Komini Mukingo, yatanze umurongo w'itangizwa rya Jenoside. Intwaro zifashishijwe zatanzwe na Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal, zageze ku biro bya Komini Nkuli mu gitondo cya kare uwo munsi akaba arizo zakoreshejwe mu guhiga no kwica Abatutsi bo muri Serire Kinyababa. Ubwicanyi busojwe, umutangabuhamya wa ICTR wiswe GDD mu rubanza rwa Kajelijeli ni umwe mu bantu bahaye raporo Kajelijeli ku byari byagezweho uwo munsi, banamumenyesha ko nta n'ibuye ryasigaye rigeretse ku rindi. Iki gitero kikaba cyari kiyobowe na Iyakaremye wari Perezida w'ishyaka rya CDR muri Segiteri ya Gitwa[33].

Mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994 , Kajelijeli yatanze itegeko ryo kujagajaga Segiteri ya Gitwa kubera ko yavugaga ko ikirimo Abatutsi benshi. Ibyo byatumye Interahamwe zizenguruka Segiteri ya Gitwa yose, zigera kuri buri rugo rwari rutuyemo Umututsi, bashakisha niba bishwe cyangwa bihishe. Ni muri icyo gitero hishwe Nyirabusoro n'abana be batanu n'abandi.

32 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, umurenge wa Mukamira.

33 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case No ICTR-98-44A-T, p.228

4.1.3. Abatutsi biciwe muri Segiteri Kagano

Mu gihe Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yatangiraga gushyirwa mu bikorwa, Segiteri Kagano ni kamwe mu duce twa Komini Nkuli twibasiwe rugikubita. Nyuma yo kunoza umugambi wo gutera no kurimbura Abatutsi ba Segiteri Kagano, bagabweho ibitero bitandukanye. Igitero kimwe cyaturutse muri Segiteri Kareba kiyobowe na Bwiko wari Konseye wa Segiteri; ikindi cyaturutse ahitwa Nyirakivuvu, cyaje kiyobowe na Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka wari Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda, naho icyaturutse Mukamira cyari kiyobowe na Konseye Kabutura. Abatutsi bo muri Segiteri Kagano babonye ko umugambi wo kubica wateguwe kandi wanogejwe, bahungiye murugo rw'uwitwa Gasabune; ariko baje kuhabasanga, barabica, kuburyo uru rugo, rwaguyemo Abatutsi bagera ku ijana[34]

Nk'uko byavuzwe n'umutangabuhamya mu Nkiko Gacaca, Nkundiye Ephasto mwene Gahinda na Ntibahanwa wo muri Segiteri Kagano, asobanura ko ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 batangiye kwica Abatutsi bo muri Segiteri Kagano. Nk'uko abisobanura, igitero cya mbere cyaturutse Mukamira, icya kabiri cyaturutse mu Kareba kiyobowe na Bwiko wari Konseye wa Segiteri Kareba, naho igitero cya gatatu cyaraturutse mu Rubare kiyobowe na Bazambanza wari umujandarume. Icyo gitero cyarimo abasirikare nka Gasirimu, Baziruwiha n'undi bitaga Kayijyamahe. Umutangabuhamya avuga ko bamaze kwica Abatutsi bo muri Segiteri Kagano abaturage bafashe icyemezo cyo kubashyingura ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Nkundiye Ephasto akaba yarahambishije abo mu rusisiro rwa Nyarwayi, naho abo mu rusisiro rwa Kagano bahambishijwe n'abamambure ba Serire[35].

34 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SENYANA Gaétan mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

35 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Jenda, Akagari ka Kagano.

Ikindi gitero cyaturutse Mukamira kigizwe n'abasiviri, kiyobowe na Izabayo mwene Nyanjwenge, bateye Abatutsi bari bateraniye kwa Munyakaberano wo muri Segiteri Kagano, cyica Abatutsi bagera kuri makumyabiri[36].

4.1.4. Abatutsi biciwe kuri bariyeri yari hafi y'ikigo cya Gisirikare cya Mukamira

Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, Abatutsi baturutse mu duce dutandukanye baje biruka bakurikiwe n'Interahamwe, biruka bashaka guhungira mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Bageze kuri bariyeri yari hafi y'ikigo, abasirikare barabahagaritse, bababuza kwinjira mu kigo. Interahamwe zahise ziza, zitangira gucukura umwobo munini hafi aho, zirangije zihera ku bana zibaryamisha hasi muri cya cyobo, zikurikizaho abantu bakuru. Hafi aho hari ipoto y'umuriro; za nterahamwe zizana urutsinga rw'umuriro w'Amashanyarazi zirucomeka ku ipoto ziyoborera umuriro muri cya cyobo, Abatutsi bagera kuri 84 bicwa n'umuriro w'amashanyarazi.

Hari abandi Batutsi biciwe mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Nk'uko byemejwe n'Urukiko Mpuzamahanga rwashyiriweho u Rwanda Arusha muri Tanzaniya, *Colonel* Ephrem Setako yagize uruhare rutaziguye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Mu rubanza ubushinjacyaha bwaregagamo Ephrem Setako, urukiko rwanzuye ko:

> Ku itariki ya 25 Mata 1994, Setako yahaye amabwiriza abasirikare bo mu kigo cya Mukamira kwica Abatutsi bari hagati ya 30 na 40 bari bazanywe muri icyo kigo. Na none Setako yagize uruhare mu rupfu rw'abandi Batutsi bagera ku icumi biciwe mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Uretse Abatutsi biciwe mu kigo cya

36 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> Mukamira, *Colonel* Setako yagize uruhare mu rupfu rw'Abatutsi batandukanye bari batuye muri Komini ya Nkuli, harimo Pasitoro Semasabike n'umugore we biciwe murugo rwabo ku itariki ya 8 Mata 1994, hafi ya misiyoni y'Abadiventiste ya Rwankeri.

Nyuma yo guhamwa n'ibyaha bya Jenoside n'ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu, Urukiko rwamuhanishije igifungo cy'imyaka 25[37].

4.1.5. Abatutsi biciwe kuri bariyeri ya Nyirantarengwa

Bariyeri ya *Nyirantarengwa* yari iherereye mu cyayi cyo ku Cyamamuye, mu yahoze ari Segiteri Jenda, ikaba yariciweho Abatutsi benshi cyane. Iyi bariyeri yari yarashyizweho na Konseye wa Segiteri Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka. Akaba yarashishikaye mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi bari batuye muri Segiteri ya Jenda yayoboraga ndetse no mu zindi Segiteri zahanaga imbibi. Ni umwe mu Bakonseye b'abategarugeri bagaragaje umurava udasanzwe mu gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Nk'uko abatangabuhamya babisobanura, imirambo y'Abatutsi biciwe kuri Nyirantarengwa yajugunywaga mu cyayi cyo ku Cyamabuye[38].

Uretse kuri Nyirantarengwa, Abatutsi biciwe hirya ni hino mu yahoze ari Segiteri Jenda. Abatutsi barenga 48 biciwe muri Serire Gisozi, abarenga 37 bicirwa muri Serire Kabatezi,

abarenga 27 bicirwa ku maduka yo ku Cyamabuye muri Serire Gisozi n'ahandi.

37 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Ephrem Setako, Case No. ICTR-04-81-T, p.2, 10, 131.

38 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

4.1.6. Abatutsi biciwe ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga

Ubuvumo bwa *Nyaruhonga* bwari buherereye muri Segiteri ya Mushumba ku musozi wa Nyaruhonga, ubu ni mu mudugudu wa Kamiro, Akagari ka Gasizi,Umurenge wa Mukamira.

Ifoto y'Ubuvumo bwa Nyaruhonga bwiciwemo Abatutsi benshi kuva mu 1991 kugera muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994.

Ubuvumo bwa Nyaruhonga bwiciweho Abatutsi mu bihe bitandukanye. Hagati ya 1991 na 1993 ndetse no mu gihe cya Jenoside nyirizina hiciwe Abatutsi babaga bavanye mu duce dutandukanye tw'Amakomini ya Nkuli, Karago, Kinigi, Mukingo na Kigombe. Bamwe bahazanwaga bishwe, abandi bakicwa bageze ku buvumo. Abatutsi bishwe bazanwaga n'imodoka za Komini, imodoka y'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, imodoka y'uruganda rw'icyayi rwa Nyabihu, iz'abacuruzi, n'izindi. Iyo imodoka zazanaga imirambo y'Abatutsi bishwe, zabajugunyaga mu buvumo. Iyo bazanaga Abatutsi bakiri bazima, Interahamwe zahitaga zibicira ku munwa w'ubuvumo, zikoresheje amafuni cyangwa imihoro nyuma zikabajugunyamo. Abatutsi benshi

bazanaga kuhicirwa ni ababaga bafatiwe kuri za bariyeri; bakaba barabajyanwaga babashinyagurira bababwirako babajyanye kwiga muri Kaminuza ya Makerere. Kuri ubu buvumo hakaba harahoraga Interahamwe zitahava zitegereje abari buhazanwe ari bazima ngo zibice.

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa kuva mu rukerera rwo kuwa 7 Mata 1994, Abatutsi benshi bakuwe mu duce dutandukanye twa Komini Nkuli, Karago, Kinigi, Mukingo na Kigombe bajya kwicirwa kuri ubwo buvumo.

Aho ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga, hari ubundi buvumo bwari bufite iminwa ibiri, bafungaga umunwa umwe, bagafata Abatutsi bataricwa bakabinjiriza mu munwa muto barangiza bakahashyira uburinzi bakicwa no kubura umwuka. Hari n'ubundi buvumo bwerekeye igice cy'ishyamba bwiciwemo Abatutsi benshi. Ubwo buvumo bwari burebure cyane, nk'uko abatangabuhamya bavuga, ntabwo bazi aho bugarukira. Imibiri myinshi y'Abatutsi biciwe muri ubwo buvumo ntabwo irabasha gushyingurwa mu cyubahiro.

Abayobozi batandukanye bagize uruhare mu kujya kwicira Abatutsi ku buvumo bwa *Nyaruhonga* ndetse no kujugunyamo imirambo y'ababaga bamaze kwicwa. Muri abo bayobozi, twavuga uwari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli Mpiranya Mathias hamwe n'uwamusimbuye Gatsimbanyi Dominique wayoboye Komini mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Sebagabo wari *Assistant* Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli, Mfitimana Augustin wari Burigadiye wa Komini Nkuli, *Lieutenant* Hasengineza wari Umusirikare mu Kigo cya Mukamira, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka wari Konseye wa Segiteri Jenda.

4.1.7. Abatutsi biciwe muri Segiteri Mukamira

Kuwa 7 Mata 1994, Abatutsi biciwe na none muri Serire zitandukanye za Segiteri ya Mukamira: Muri Serire Jaba hiciwe Abatutsi benshi, imirambo y'abishwe ijungunywa mu byobo bitatu byari imbere y'uruganda rusya ibigori, muri metero zigera kuri mirongo itatu, ku muhanda w'iburyo ugana ku kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira. Abatutsi barenga 23 biciwe muri Serire Mutovu, abarenga 37 bicirwa muri Serire Ruheshi na Kabare n'ahandi. Uretse muri Segiteri ya Gitwa na Mukamira, Abatutsi biciwe hirya no hino muri Komini Nkuli.

Mu Rwankeri naho hiciwe Abatutsi benshi harimo Kabare wavutse mu 1942, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda; Mukarubayiza wavutse mu 1952, mwene Mbishibishi na Nyiramukobwa, yicishijwe imbunda; Nyirarugendo wavutse mu 1954, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda; Mukarubuga wavutse mu 1966, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura; Uwambaje wavutse mu 1974, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda; Ingabire wavutse mu 1976, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda; Mawazo wavutse mu 1974 mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda; Chantal wavutse mu 1976, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda; Tuyizere wavutse mu 1979, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda; Mutabazi wavutse mu 1978, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda. Hari n'abandi bicishijwe ubuhiri, harimo: Umwana wa Kabare, Muhinda wavutse mu 1932, mwene Rwakibibi na Nyirabukumi, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Nyirabatete wavutse mu 1926 mwene Ruhingu na Nyirakazega, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Nyirandimunka wavutse mu 1969 mwene Nyirimpeta na Purusikira, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Joyisi wavutse mu 1976 mwene Karasabwira na Nyirandiwuha, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Ruhumuriza wavutse mu 1978 mwene Karasabwira na Nyirandiwuha, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Dabari wavutse mu 1980 mwene

Karasabwira na Nyirandiwuha, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Niyonzima wavutse mu 1982 mwene Karasabwira na Nyirandiwuha, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Yakumi wavutse mu 1989, mwene Karasabwira na Nyirandiwuha, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Dani wavutse mu 1985, mwene Gatoho na Bakongomani, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Ngabo wavutse mu 1990, mwene Rebura na Mukarire, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Buhinja wavutse mu 1992, mwene Rebura na Mukarire, yicishijwe ubuhiri nyuma aratwikwa; Rukara wavutse mu 1968, mwene Semico na Mariya; Mukasine wavutse mu 1954, mwene Rudatinya na Nyirabatete; Suzana wavutse mu 1952, mwene Muhigi na Mahoro; Gahungu wavutse mu 1990, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza; Gasore wavutse mu 1992, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, Gakobwa wavutse mu 1989, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza; Nyiramukobwa wavutse mu 1991, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza; Nyirabagilishya wavutse mu 1929, mwene Rwamihigo na Nyiranshuti; Mungaruriye wavutse mu 1949, mwene Muhinda na Sara; Musare wavutse mu 1972, mwene Muhinda na Sara, Mukakabano wavutse mu 1977, mwene Muhinda na Sara; Sara wavutse mu 1942, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiranterebo; Ngeneye mwene Mungaruriye na Nyirasusurutsa; Mukarenzi mwene Bihutu na Nyiranterebo; Uwitonze wavutse mu 1991 mwene Mungaruriye na Mukarenzi; Tuyisenge wavutse mu 1993, mwene Mungaruriye na Mukarenzi, n'abandi.

Mu Kagali ka Rwankeri hiciwe kandi Nyirasusurutsa, Nunguri, Muhinda, Mungarurire, Mukarensi, Nyirabatete, Rubayiza, Mukarubayiza, Nyirarugendo, Nyirabagilishya, Rukara, Rusiyani, Nyiramahirwe Joyce, Nyirandimunka, Dani, Mukarubuga, Uwambaje, Mawazo, Chantal, Tuyizere, Mutabazi, Nyiramwana n'abandi. Nyuma yo kubica, imirambo yashyizwe ahitwa Gahanga indi ishyirwa Rwankeri.

Mu bamamaye mu bwicanyi mu Kagari ka Rwankeli harimo Bambonye Yotamu wari umucuruzi, yashishikarije kwica, kuyobora ibitero no gusahura (yarapfuye); Sebacuruzi wari

soudeur, wagenzuraga ibitero, kwica no gusahura. Yaje gufungirwa muri gereza ya Ruhengeri; Ndangiza Lazaro wari Resiponsabule, yashyizeho bariyeri, ayobora ibitero, kwica no gusahura, yaje gufungirwa muri gereza ya Ruhengeri; Niyigaba Michel wari umuhinzi, Musafiri, *Lieutenant* Hasengineza wari umusirikare, yatanze intwaro zo kwica Abatutsi; Niyoyita Jean de Dieu wari *assistant bourgmestre* akaba yari umuyobozi w'Interahamwe; yaje gufungirwa muri gereza ya Ruhengeri[39].

Mu Kagari ka Mugogo naho Interahamwe zahiciye Abatutsi benshi. Mbere yo kugaba ibitero, Interahamwe zo mu Kagali ka Mugogo zahawe imbunda n'umusirikare wari ukuriye *position* ya gisirikare yabaga ahitwa Ruhehe. Mu bazihawe harimo Gacaniro Gad wavutse mu 1965, mwene Nsekuye na Nyirambagare; Nyandwi Etiènne wavutse mu 1963, mwene Bazibaza na Ntashyezo; Tuyizere wavutse mu 1975, mwene Mpagaze na Ntabaganira; Kariwabo Samuel wavutse mu 1957, mwene Ntawirera na Nyirabanzi; Nsengiyumva Joseph wavutse mu 1958, mwene Kavumba na Nyirahakiza; Tuyiringire Tharcisse wavutse mu 1958, mwene Ruhonyongo na Dini; Bimenyimana wavutse mu 1975, mwene Sebigori na Nyirabahima; Nsengimana Rwasubutare wavutse mu 1954, mwene Sebajyayo na Batemba, n'abandi.

Nyuma yo guhabwa imbunda, Interahamwe zahise zigaba ibitero ku miryango ya Nzeyimana Augustin, Nyirajipo, Uwitonze Marie Claire, Nshimiyimana Jean na Iradukunda. Bishwe rugikubita kuwa 7 Mata 1994. Abagabye ibitero byabishe harimo: Seburinkeri, Kaberuka, Henero na Menshi. Babishe bakoresheje imbunda[40].

39 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Rwankeri.

40 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Mugogo.

Mu Kagari ka Jaba, Umurenge wa Mukamira, hashyizweho bariyeri ahitwa kuri *Maiserie* ku muhanda wa kaburimbo. Bariyeri yo kuri *maiserie* yagiyeho kuva mu 1992, ariko yahawe imbaraga nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi ubasha guhunga. Abatanze amabwiriza yo gushyiraho iyo bariyeri ni *Lieutenant* Hasengineza, Kabutura wari Konseye wa Segiteri Mukamira na Mpiranya Mathias wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli. Abayoboye iyo bariyeri ni Kabutura, Gisimba, Ndabateze, Twagirimana, Rutagaramba n'umwarimu witwa Nyirakabanza.

Bariyeri yari kuri *Maiserie* yiciweho Abatutsi benshi. Mu babashije kumenyekana harimo Nyiramutunzi wavutse mu 1964, mwene Rwamakambira na Nyirankwano, yicishijwe imbunda, umurambo bawushyira kwa Gasapo mu Kagari ka Jaba; Murenzi wavutse mu 1989, mwene Habimfura na Nyiramutunzi ; Yona wavutse mu 1990, mwene Habimfura na Nyiramutunzi ; Ntagugurra wavutse mu 1939, mwene Rusibana na Nyiraruyange; Nyiragahuranda wavutse mu 1939, mwene Munyengabe na Musasa ; Twagira mwene Ntagugura na Nyiragatavu; Mukabutera mwene Ntagugura na Nyiragatovu; Sengabo Aroni; Uwizeye; Mugabo; Umwana utazwi izina; Gateru alias Gasugutu mwene Kamayirese na Nyiragasebeye; Ruth mwene Kamayirese na Nyiragasebeya; Kagenzi Daniel mwene Gakara na Nsira; Nyiramufuto mwene Munagu na Nyiramyanda; Abana bato babiri ba Kagenzi na Nyiramufuto; Busayidire mwene Mbonabuhama na Kandanga; Nyiramatumwa; Nyirabeza mwene Busayidire na Nyiramatumwa; Gasaza mwene Busayidire na Nyiramatumwa; Icyitegetse Samuel mwene Gakara na Nyiramasubyo; Nshababa; Zabayo mwene Icyitegetse na Nshababa; Zabayo mwene Icyitegetse na Nshababa; Nyiramariza mwene Icyitegetse na Nshababa; Nyiragasebeya mwene Icyitegetse na Nshababa; Nyiranshibiri wavutse mu 1975, mwene Ngatura na Mukagatare; Kabera Innocent wavutse mu 1976, mwene Ruhangara na Nyirancibiri; Nirere Asinati wavutse mu 1978, mwene Ruhangara na Nyirancibiri; Munyaneze wavutse mu 1982, mwene Ruhangara

na Nyirancibiri; Tuyishime wavutse mu 1984, mwene Ruhangara na Nyirancibiri; Ingabire wavutse mu 1991, mwene Ruhangara na Nyirancibiri; Nyirabahutu wavutse mu 1962, mwene Buhura na Nyiramahoro; Uwamahoro wavutse mu 1984, mwene Kabarira na Nyirabahutu; Karinganire wavutse mu 1986, mwene Kabarira na Nyirabahutu; Uwineza wavutse mu 1988, mwene Kabarira na Nyirabahutu; Nyiramarira, mwene Icyitegetse na Nshababa; Nyirabutsitsi wavutse mu 1964, mwene Gacekumuhoro na Kankera[41].

Mu Kagari ka Mutovu, Umurenge wa Mukamira, bariyeri yashyizwe imbere yo kwa Gervais. Abatutsi biciwe mu Kagari ka Mutovu harimo Nduwayezu; Nkurunziza; Florida; Tasiyana; Umwana w'uruhinja; Kanengeri mwene Rutagungira na Nyiramatebura; Rutagungira; Nyiramatebura; Rukundo; Mbarushimana; Suzana; Nsenga; Elizabeth; Sibomana mwene Mbarushimana na Suzana; Irankunda; Tuyiringire; Nyiragahinja mwene Mbarushimana na Suzana; Bonifirida; Mushimiyimana mwene Karekezi; Serubuga mwene Minagerezo na Mushimiyimana; Mukansanga; Nyiramariza; Kamanzi; Muhoza mwene Minagerezo na Mushimiyimana; Nyirakagurano; Saverina; Kazungu; Dudu; Beti; Uwamariya; Mukangwije[42].

Muri Komini Nkuli kimwe n'ahandi hose mu gihugu, mu gihe Abatutsi bamaraga kwicwa, abayobozi ba za Serire bakoreshaga umuganda bagacukura imyobo itari minini bakarundamo imirambo, hejuru bagashyiraho agataka gake. Kubera ko imirambo yabaga igaragara, imbwa zarazaga zikayitaburura. Iyo abayobozi basangaga hari ikiri hejuri, bongeraga gukoresha umuganda bakayisubizamo[43].

41 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Mukamira.

42 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Mukamira.

43 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

4.2. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa uhereye mu gitondo cya kare cyo ku itariki ya 07 Mata 1994.

4.2.1. Abatutsi biciwe kuri Paruwasi Gatorika ya Busogo

Mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, habaye ubwicanyi bukomeye bwahitanye Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi Gatorika ya Busogo. Muri icyo gitondo, nyuma y'inama yari yaraye ibereye kwa nyina wa Nzirorera, Kajelijeli Juvénal ari kumwe na Bambonye wari ukuriye CDR, Esdras Baheza wari umucuruzi akaba n'Interahamwe na *Adjudant chef* Karorero Joseph, bahamagaje Interahamwe bazikoresha inama ku isoko ryo mu Byangabo bazisaba ko zitangira kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwase ya Busogo, kuri Komini Mukingo no mu kigo cy'Ababikira. Nyuma yo kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Busogo, Interahamwe ziyobowe na Niyigaba Michel zagiye kwica Abatutsi bari kuri misiyoni y'Abadiventiste ya Rwankeri. Kubera ko batinyaga ko Abatutsi bari mu Rwankeri bashobora kubarwanya, Kajelijeli yasabye ko *Major* Bizabarimana abaha imbunda ziyongera kuzo Interahamwe zari zifite, ndetse agafatanya n'izo nterahamwe kwica abo Batutsi bari mu Rwankeri[44].

Nyuma yo kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Busogo no mu kigo cy'Ababikira, tariki 8 Mata 1994, Kajelijeli Juvénal na *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin basabye abayobozi b'inzego z'ibanze n'abaturage guhamba Abatutsi bari bamaze kwicwa, barengaga 300, babashyira mu cyobo rusange cyari cyacukuwe hafi ya Paruwasi ya Busogo[45] .

44 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarana 2017

45 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017.

Umutangabuhamya wari *brigadier* wa Komini Mukingo avuga ko mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, hishwe Abatutsi benshi. Kubica byari ibintu byoroshye kubera ko Interahamwe zo muri Komini Mukingo zari zarahawe imyitozo ihagije kandi zarahawe imbunda na grenades. Asobanura uko byagenze muri aya magambo:

> Mbere ya tariki 6 Mata 1994, muri Komini Mukingo imbunda zari zaratanzwe. Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, abaturage n'Interahamwe bakoresheje imbunda, abandi bakoresha intwaro za gakondo. Abatutsi benshi bicishijwe imbunda na *grenades,* uwabaga atarashyiramo umwuka niwe twicishaga icyuma. Abatutsi benshi biciwe muri kiliziya ya Busogo. Ndibuka Komini Mukingo yabarurirwagamo imiryango y'Abatutsi igera kuri 450, benshi baguye kuri paruwase ya Busogo. Ku kigo cy'ababikira ho hiciwe Abatutsi barenga magana atatu (300)[46].

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya akomeza asobanura:

> Mu kwica Abatutsi habayeho gufata ku ngufu abakobwa n'abagore. Niyigaba Michel wari umu *reserviste* yishe umukobwa witwa Joyce amaze kumusambanya. Uyu Niyigaba akaba ari nawe wari uyoboye igitero cyishe Abatutsi bari kuri Paruwasi ya Busogo. Ubu afungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri. Imbaga y'Abatutsi ba Komini Mukingo bishwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, imirambo yabo yahambwe tariki 8 Mata 1994[47].

46 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

47 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

4.2.2. Abatutsi biciwe muri Segiteri Busogo

Mu yahoze ari Segiteri Busogo, mu Kagari ka Kagezi, Interahamwe zagabye ibitero zishakisha Abatutsi bari bahatuye, cyane cyane umuryango wa Nsangira wari ugizwe na Mukankundiye, Mukayisingwa na Toto. Ibitero bikaba byarayobowe na Niyigaba Michel wari perezida w'Interahamwe muri Segiteri Busogo, Hategekimina na Muhombo bari Interahamwe kabuhariwe. Ibyo bitero bikaba byari bigizwe n'Interahamwe zo muri Serire Kagezi, harimo Niyigaba, Rukundo, Dusabe Musafiri, Gato na Gakuru, Barebe, n'izindi nterahamwe zabaga zaturutse hirya no hino muri Komini Mukingo zirimo Niyibizi Venuste, Ndayisaba, Twagirayezu, Karera, Nzigihima, Gasagi, Sebazungu na Birayora.

Mu Kagari ka Kinoni, Umurenge wa Busogo naho hiciwe Abatutsi benshi. Mu bishwe harimo Rwamahungu Athanase wavutse mu 1922, mwene Mujyarugamba na Nyirankomane. Mu bayoboye igitero cyagiye kwa Rwamahungu harimo Hategekimana Hamada, Kanyamwenga Erasto, Simbashoboye, Rwakana, Kabera n'abandi. Nyuma yo kumwica, Umurambo we bawushyize inyuma y'inzu ya Mwumvaneza aho bacukuye hafi ya W.C. Hishwe kandi Ntabanganyimana Thérèse wavutse mu 1950, mwene Rwamiheto na Nyiraperu, yiciwe mu Kagari ka Rukoro; umurambo we bawushyize hafi yo kwa Hategekimana Rucekeri Amiel; Mukankuranga wavutse mu 1975, mwene Rwamahungu na Nyiramaduri, yiciwe mu Kagari ka Mugogo na Nyirakarambo wavutse mu 1950, bitaramenyekana aho yiciwe.

Mu Kagari ka Buhoro, Umurenge wa Busogo hishwe Kandabuka Tereza wavutse mu 1918, umurambo we washyizwe Bukoro; Nyirashishira wavutse mu 1979, mwene Segahwege na Mukanturo Eleda, umurambo we washyizwe Bukoro; Turatsinze wavutse mu 1988, mwene Segahwege na Mukanturo Eleda; Gasaza wavutse mu 1989, mwene segahwege na Mukanturo, n'abandi. Bakaba barishwe n'ibitero birimo Interahamwe zitandukanye nka Kanyamugenga, Setako Jean de Dieu, Rukara, Hakuza, Ngenda, Rugumire, Simbashoboye, Habyarimana n'abandi.

Mu Kagari ka Busogo, Umurenge wa Busogo hishwe Abatutsi benshi barimo Nyirasusurutsa; Nunguri; Muhinda; Mungarurire; Mukarensi; Nyirabatete; Rubayiza; Mukarubayiza; Nyirarugendo; Nyirabagilishya; Rukara; Rusiyani; Nyiramahirwe Joyce; Nyirandimunka; Dani; Mukarubuga; Uwambaje; Mawazo; Chantal; Tuyizere; Mutabazi na Nyiramwana. Imirambo yashyizwe ahitwa Gahanga indi ishyirwa Rwankeri. Mu kagari ka Busogo hishwe kandi Bijanja mwene Nkumbuye na Nyiramasasa, Umurambo we washyizwe ahitwa Gahanga; Mudiyakoni mwene Rupiya na Nyiramitondo, umurambo we washyizwe Rwankeri; Hitimana Gerard wari umwarimu muri ISAE, akaba yarakomokaga i Gitarama, Umurambo we washyizwe ahitwa Gahanga. Hishwe kandi Suzana hamwe n'Umugore n'umwana yari ahetse, akaba yarimo ahunga aturutse i Kigali, imirambo yabo bakaba barayishyize i Gahanga.

Mu Kagari ka Rwankeri, Umurenge wa Busogo hiciwe Abatutsi benshi harimo Kabare wavutse 1942 mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda**;** Mukarubayiza wavutse 1952, mwene Mbishibishi na Nyiramukobwa, yicishijwe imbunda; Nyirarugendo wavutse 1954, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda ; Mukarubuga wavutse 1966, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura ; Uwambaje wavutse mu 1974, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda; Ingabire wavutse mu 1976, mwene Sebatwa na Nyiragemura, yicishijwe imbunda; Mawazo wavutse mu 1974 mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda; Chantal wavutse 1976, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda; Tuyizere wavutse mu 1979, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda; Mutabazi wavutse 1978, mwene Kabare na Mukarubayiza, yicishijwe imbunda. Hishwe kandi umwana wa Kabare, bamwicisha ubuhiri.[48]

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48 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Busogo.

Uretse Abatutsi biciwe kuri Paruwasi ya Busogo no mu kibikira, abandi Batutsi benshi ba Komini Mukingo biciwe mu ngo zabo cyangwa aho babaga bihishe, abandi bajya kwicirwa ku buvumo bwa Nyaruhonga.

4.2.3. Abatutsi biciwe kuri bariyeri yari yashyizwe imbere ya Komini Mukingo n'ahitwa ku ijite (Gite)

Mu rwego rwo gukumira Abatutsi bashoboraga guhunga, mu Kagari ka Kagezi, Umurenge wa Busogo, *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin afatanije na Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal batanze amabwiriza ko hashyirwaho bariyeri imbere ya Komini Mukingo. Abagiye gukora (kwica) kuri iyo bariyeri harimo Resiponsabule Bazimenyera mwene Bugenimana na Ntamegano; Sebuhinja mwene Kampayana na Nyirabagenzi wakoraga muri MINITRAPE; Bamenya Obed mwene Bamenya wakoraga muri MINITRAPE; Ntaganda mwene Nyabarenzi na Kabagenda wari *membre* wa Serire; Hategeka mwene Bitariho na Nkuriyabanzi wari *membre* wa Serire; Mazeyose JMV mwene Rusatsi na Budohe wari Nyumbakumi na Hitimana E. wari nyumbakumi. Kuri iyo bariyeri hiciweho Abatutsi bahungaga berekeza i Gisenyi, abenshi bakaba bari baturutse i Kigali na Musanze.

Mu kagari ka Busogo, Umurenge wa Busogo, bariyeri yashyizwe ahitwa ku IJITE. Yashyizweho guhera mu Ukwakira 1990, ihabwa imbaraga kuva ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Uwashyizeho iyo bariyeri ni Konseye wa Segiteri Busogo Ndisetse Assiel afatanije na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo Kajelijeli Juvénal. Abayoboye iyo bariyeri hari Ndangiza Lazaro mwene Ngomiraruhije na Nyirankeri wari resiponsabule wa Serire. Abaturage bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwakorewe kuri iyo bariyeri harimo: Musafiri mwene Rwirasira, yari Interahamwe; Barebereho mwene Sebahanuzi, yari Interahamwe; Rugumire mwene Bihemu, yari Interahamwe; Rumaga mwene Nemeye, yari Interahamwe.

Mu babashije kumenyekana biciwe kuri iyo bariyeri harimo Hitimana Gérard ukomoka muri Perefegitura ya Gitarama, akaba yari umwarimu muri ISAE Busogo, yicishijwe imbunda[49].

Nyuma yo kurangiza kwica Abatutsi bo muri Komini Mukingo, Interahamwe zaho zagiye gutanga ubufasha muri Komini Kigombe aho zifatanije n'abasirikare bishe Abatutsi bari bahungiye muri *Cour d'Appel* mu Ruhengeri, ku itariki ya 14 Mata 1994[50].

Mu bamamaye mu bitero byagiye kwica hirya no hino harimo kandi Hategekimana Hamada mwene Ndimurwango na Nyiraranga, Kanyamuenga Erasto mwene Girukubonye na Rebero, Simbashoboye mwene Makenza na Nyirantabire, Kabera Théogène mwene Ndimurwango na Nyiraranga, Rwakana mwene Biyingoma na Nyiranshakiye, Rwakana mwene Biyingoma na Nyiranshakiye n'abandi. Izi nterahamwe zikaba zarishe Abatutsi benshi bakoresheje ishoka, inyundo n'inkoni[51].

Mu bayobozi bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Komini Mukingo, abatangabuhamya bagaruka kuri Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal, *Lieutenant* Hasengineza watanze imbunda, *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin watanze imbunda, Nzirorera Joseph wakoreshaga inama zatangiwemo ubutumwa bwo kurimbura Abatutsi, Bazimenyera wari Burigadiye wa Komini, Sinaribonye n'abandi.

Uretse kwicwa nabi habayeho no gushinyagurira imirambo. Aha twavuga umurambo wa Joyisi watwitswe na Rugumire mwene Bihemu, Niyoyita mwene Kabasheshe na Manizabayo Haruna.

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49 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Kagezi.

50 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIMENYERA Ezechiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Mutarama 2017

51 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Kinoni.

4.2.4. Abatutsi biciwe kwa Munyemvano

Ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, Abatutsi benshi barimo abagabo, abagore n'abana bagabweho igitero bicirwa aho bari bahungiye mu rugo rwo kwa Munyemvano, muri Serire ya Rwankeri, Komini ya Mukingo. Iki gitero kikaba cyari kiyobowe na Kajelijeli Juvénal. Interahamwe zari muri icyo gitero cyagabwe kwa Munyemvano zakoresheje intwaro gakondo, imbunda na *grenades* mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bahasanze.

Kuri iyo tariki ahagana saa tatu za mu gitondo, Kajelijeli yazanye Interahamwe zigera kuri 30 mu modoka ya Kamyoneti itukura yari iya Komini Mukingo, maze azisiga kwa Munyemvano. Izo Nterahamwe zazengurutse aho hantu ziyamira ngo isaha y'Abatutsi yageze. Muri uwo mwanya, Kajelijeli yasabye Interahamwe « *kutagira umuntu zica, azibwira ko zigomba gutegereza itegeko ryo gutangira* ». Ubwo Kajelijeli yaragiye asiga Interahamwe aho. Nyuma y'isaha, hagati ya saa tatu na saa ine, Kajelijeli yagarutse kwa Munyemvano maze aha itegeko Interahamwe ngo « *zigende zice Abatutsi kubera ko ahandi bari batangiye kubica* ». Mu kubahiriza itegeko, Interahamwe zatangiye kujugunya amagerenede mu mazu no kuyatwika. Nyuma yo kubica, Kajelijeli yategetse Interahamwe gufata abarokotse kwa Munyemvano bakabajyana kuri Paruwasu ya Busogo[52].

Kuva ubwo Interahamwe n'abaturage batangiye kugaba ibitero mu buryo buhoraho ku Batutsi bahungaga. Bamwe mu bagabye ibitero babaga bitwaje ibisongo, amacumu n'amahiri. Birukankanaga abantu bamwe bakabarasa, abandi bakicishwa ibisongo n'intwaro za gakondo.

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52 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case No ICTR-98-44A-T, p.184.

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo na Komini Nkuli yateguwe n'abayobozi bakuru bo mu nzego za gisivili na gisirikare. Mu bayiteguye bakanayishyira mu bikorwa harimo Joseph Nzirorera wigeze kuba perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, ukomoka muri Komini Mukingo, Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli Juvénal, *Colonel* Setako Ephrem, *Colonel* Ntibitura, *Lieutenant Colonel* Marcel Bivugabagabo wari uyoboye ingabo za FAR muri Ruhengeri mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi na *Lieutenant* Hasengineza wari umusirikare mu kigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira.

Mu bagize uruhare mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Juvénal Kajelijeli agarukwaho kuba ariwe wari ku isonga. Kajelijeli wavutse kuwa 26 Ukuboza 1951 muri Segiteri ya Rwinzovu, Komini Mukingo, Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yabaye Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kuva mu 1988 kugeza mu 1993. Yongeye gushyirwa kuri uwo mwanya wa Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo muri Kamena 1994, awugumaho kugeza hagati muri Nyakanga 1994. Mu gihe Kajelijeli atari Burugumesitiri wemewe n'amategeko, mu by'ukuri yasaga nk'aho ari we wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo kubera umubano yari afitanye na Joseph Nzirorera. Kajelijeli yakomeje kugaragara nk'umuyobozi imbere ya rubanda no kwitwara nka Burugumesitiri, dore ko yakomeje kuba umuyobozi wa MRND muri Komini Mukingo.

Nubwo Kajelijeli atari Burugumesitiri mu matariki abanza y'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside, niwe wari ukuriye ibikorwa by' Interahamwe muri Komini Mukingo, ndetse yari afite ijambo no mu zindi Komini zihanye imbibi na Mukingo.

4.3. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe**,** Abatutsi bari hagati ya 200 na 300 biciwe mu cyahoze ari *Cour d'Appel* ya Ruhengeri nyuma yo kubeshywa n'ubuyobozi bwariho mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ko bagiye gufashwa guhungira muri Zayire (Repubulika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo y'ubu).

Nk'uko bivugwa n'abarokotse, mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Abatutsi barishwe hirya no hino, umuntu akabura aho yihisha. Ubwo Abarokotse babonyeko ntaho kwikinga bagifite, bafashe umwanzuro wo guhungira ku buyobozi; bamwe bahungiye kuri Superefecture ya Busengo, ubu ni mu Karere ka Gakenke, abandi bahungira kuri Paruwasi gaturika ya Janja ariko bageze muri ibyo bice icyakurikiyeho ni uko bamwe bishwe barashwe n'abasirikare bari kumwe n'abaturage n'Interahamwe."

Muri icyo gihe, ubwo Abatutsi bari bamaze kujujubywa, Superefe Nzanana yazengurutse mu duce dutandukanye agenda atanga itangazo rivuga ko Abatutsi aho bari hose bagomba kwigaragaza kugira ngo bafashwe guhungira mu cyahoze ari Zayire. Ni muri urwo rwego hoherejwe za *bus* ku biro bya Superefegitura ya Busengo, zipakira Abatutsi bari bataricwa bakomokaga mu makoni ya Nyarutovu, Gatonde na Ndusu, ubu ni mu Karere ka Gakenke maze bazanwa muri *Cour d'Appel* mu Ruhengeri mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe, bizezwa guhita bahungishwa. Iki ariko cyari ikinyoma cyahimbwe n'uwari Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo Nzanana Dismas.

Abatutsi bakuwe Superefegitura ya Busengo bamaze kugezwa kuri *Cour d'Appel*, mu Mujyi wa Musanze hatanzwe amatangazo ahamagarira abandi Batutsi gusanga bagenzi babo bari bamaze kugezwa ku rukiko kugira ngo nabo babahungishe; nyamara ntibyari ukuri; kwari ukugira ngo bajye hamwe maze kubica byorohe.

Nyuma yo kubona ko Abatutsi bamaze kugwira, cyane ko n'abari mu bihishe hirya no hino mu nzu bagiye bizana, Interahamwe zifatanije n'abasirikare zabirayemo zirabica.

Tariki ya 15 Mata 1994, nibwo Abatutsi bari muri *Cour d'Appel* ya Ruhengeri (Urukiko rw'Ubujurire rwa Ruhengeri) bishwe. Nk'uko umutangabuhamya abisobanura:

> Urukiko rwari rumaze kuzuramo abantu, bigeze mu ma saa saba Interahamwe zaraje zitwaje nta mpongano y'umwanzi n'amahiri maze zibiraramo zirabica zirangije zirohamo za *grenade*. N'ubwo Abatutsi bari barahahungiye bari barabashije kwirwanaho bahangana n'ibitero bagabwagaho n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare yo mu duce twegereye Urukiko, uwo munsi hakoraniye Interahamwe nyinshi ziturutse muri Komini Kigombe na Komini bihana imbibi. Kuri uwo munsi, Interahamwe zishe Abatutsi bose bari ku Rukiko rw'Ubujurire rwa Ruhengeli ; haguye Abatutsi barenga magaba atatu 300[53].

Bamaze gukora ubwo bwicanyi ubutegetsi bwariho bwahise buhimba ikindi kinyoma buvuga ngo " abiciwe muri cour d'appel bishwe n'ikibombe cy'Inkotanyi, gusa ukuri kwari kwamaze kumenyekana". Umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiye muri C*our d'Appel* wari wacuzwe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'inzego za Leta n'iza gisirikare, harimo perefe Nsabumugisha Basile, Superefe Nzanana Dismas, *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin, *Colonel* Bivugabagabo Marcel, Burugumesitiri Maniragaba Fabiyani n'abandi.

Bamwe mu batangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi bavugako, hari Abatutsi bake cyane babashije kurokoka; gusa n'ubwo abenshi bari inkomere, batabashaga gukomeza guhunga berekeje ku bitaro bya Ruhengeri byari hafi ya *Cour d'Appel.* Mu bitaro

53 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case N° ICTR-98-44A-T, p.188.

bahamaze iminsi mike, nyuma babashyira mu mahema, imodoka y'ibitaro irababapakira, bajya ku bicira ahitwa kuri KONKASERI hafi y'umugezi wa Mukungwa.

Imirambo y'abiciwe kuri *Cour d'appel* yashyizwe mu cyobo kinini bari bacukuye inyuma y'ibiro bya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, indi bajya kuyijugunya mu mugezi wa Mukungwa. Muri iki gihe, imibiri y'abiciwe mu cyari "*Cour d'Appel ya Ruhengeri*" iruhukiye mu Rwibutso rwa Muhoza ruherereye muri metero zigera kuri 400 uvuye kuri urwo rukiko.

Kuba Abatutsi bariciwe mu ngoro y'ubutabera imbere y'abari abayobozi mu nzego zinyuranye ni ikimenyetso kigaragaza ko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe n'ubutegetsi bwariho.

Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Nsabumugisha Basile, *Colonel* Augustin Bizimunu wari ukuriye ingabo muri Ruhengeri, *Colonel* Bivugwabagabo wasimbuye Bizimungu ku buyobozi bw'ingabo muri ako gace, Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo, Nzanana Dismas, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe Maniragaba Fabiyani alias Kadasokoza, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo Kajelijeli Juvénal n'abandi bagarukwaho kuba baragize uruhare rutaziguye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi bari bahurijwe kuri *Cour d'Appel* ya Ruhengeri.

Ahandi hiciwe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe ni aho bitaga Arusha, muri Serire Rubona, Segiteri ya Muhoza. Arusha hari bariyeri yicirwagaho Abatutsi babaga bavuye i Kigali bahunze berekeza i Gisenyi. Iyo bariyeri yari mu marembo y'umujyi wa Ruhengeri, hafi y'ahari *station ya Essence* (ubu ngubu)[54].

Mu Kagari ka Bwuzuri naho hiciwe Abatutsi benshi barimo Rutinduka Valens mwene Mulindangwe na Nyirarukabuza

54 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAGAKWAYA Yuliyana mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

watewe ibyuma kugeza apfuye; Barigira Augustin warashwe; Ngendahimana Anisie mwene Ndibwami na Nyiramiruho watewe grenade; Tambara Claudien mwene Karume na Mukarugwiza warashwe; Mukarugambwa mwene Kabirigi warashwe; Pacifique mwene Munyanshongore na Mukarugambwa watawe muri WC; Kanamugire wicishijwe inkoni; Kanzayire Adija mwene Busoro Patrice na Mukamugema warashwe; Mukandori Sonia mwene Rwamanzi na Mukarugwiza watewe ibyuma; Niyonzima Claudien, mwene Munyakazi na Mukarugwiza wicishijwe inkoni n'amabuye; Rurangirwa Yasini mwene Butera na Ancila watewe ibyuma; Rusatira Fupi warashwe, Shabani warashwe; Ninja warashwe; Mbayiha n'umukobwa utazwi barashwe; Mukarugambwa na Pacifique bajugunywe mu musarane; Mugemanyi Asmani wicishijwe amabuye n'Inkoni; Niyoyita Jean Claude wicishijwe inkoni; Mukandori Sonia wicishijwe ibyuma; Safari Philippe wicishijwe inkoni n'abandi.

Mu bamamaye mu bwicanyi mu Kagali ka Bwuzuri harimo Mbarushimana, Bihozantambara (1974) mwene Ngirabanzi, Bunani mwene Bihiza, Bideberi, Byabuze, Nzabanita, Kigubili, Bijeberi mwene Charles na Nyiramataza, Nkundabagenzi mwene Rwabayidadi na Mukarukato, Ndererabanzi mwene Baziya na Muzigaba, Musigayende n'abandi[55].

4.4. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi, Burugumesitiri Gasana Thaddé afatanije n'abasirikare n'Interahamwe, bakoze iyo bwababaga ngo barimbure uwitwa Umututsi wese. Abatutsi bo mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi batangiye kwicwa kuva muri Mutarama 1991. Mu hiciwe Abatutsi mu gihe cy'igeragezwa rya Jenoside muri Komini Kinigi hari Segiteri Nyarugina, Bisate, Kanyamiheto no kuri *Rond-Point*.

55 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, umurenge wa Muhoza, Akagari ka Bwuzuri.

Ubwo Jenoside nyirizina yashyirwaga mu bikorwa kuva kuwa 7 Mata 1994, Abatutsi bake cyane bari bararokotse igeragezwa rya Jenoside barahizwe baricwa.

Mu bamamaye mu kurimbura Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Kinigi harimo Munyakarambi wari Konseye wa Segiteri Nyarugina, Semibumbe wari Resiponsabule wa Serire Kidendezi, Tengura wari umu *garde* wa Pariki, Ruhozaho, Kavarisi wari Konseye wa Segiteri Kanyamiheto, Kabuga wari Resiponsabule wa Serire Rwamahoro (Kabuga yabarizwaga muri Komini Mukingo ariko yabyukaga aza ku kazi ko kwica Abatutsi muri Kinigi)[56].

Abatutsi bishwe muri Komini Kinigi cyane cyane muri Segiteri Gihora, Serire Nyabintare baroshywe mu cyobo cyari imbere yo kwa Gasana Thaddée wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kinigi.

4.5. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu**,** ubwicanyi bwibasiye cyane cyane ibice bya Kivuruga, Ruhinga, Bwisha n'ahandi hatandukanye. Komini Nyarutovu ikaba yari yiganjemo Abatutsi bazwi kw'izina ry'Abanyago batuye muri Ruhinga ya I n'iya II. Hishwe kandi abandi Batutsi bo mu bwoko bw'Abatsobe bari batuye muri Komini Ndusu na Gatonde.

Muri iyo Komini, hashyizweho bariyeri ahantu hatandukanye kugira ngo hatagira Abatutsi babasha guhunga. Hari iyashyizwe ahitwa Kabeza ku mabwiriza ya Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile. Mu bari bakuriye iyo bariyeri harimo: Utazirubanda mwene Bitunguramye na Barayavuga; Rwagasore mwene Kagurano na Nyabutsitsi. Abakoze kuri iyo bariyeri bagera ku bantu ijana[57.]

56 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDIBABAJE Assiel mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

57 Inyandiko z'Inkigo Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Gakenke, Umurenge wa Bwisha, akagari ka Bunyangezi.

Nk'uko umutangabuhamya abisobanura, kubera ko imyiteguro yari yararangiye, Jenoside yashyizwe mu bikorwa nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana, ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 :

> Indege ya Habyarimana imaze guhanuka, mu gitondo cya kare ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 hatambukijwe ubutumwa busaba abaturage kuguma aho bari. Bigeze ngo mu ma saa tatu nibwo batangiye kwica, humvikana amasasu ku misozi, bica Rufari n'abandi barimo Nemeye na Venanti, bigeze mu ma saa munani nibwo Interahamwe zatangiye gukwira imisozi yose bica Abatutsi. Icyo gihe uwarokotse ni uwahise ajya kwihisha kuko Interahamwe zabaga zizi neza aho basanzwe batuye. Hagati aho ariko abenshi bakwiye imishwaro, bahungira kuri Superefegitura ya Busengo, aho baje gukurwa bajyanwa kuri C*our d'Appel* bababeshya ko bashaka kubacungira umutekano. Babajyane ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994, nyuma y'iminsi itatu ubwicanyi butangiye. Nabo ariko baje kwicirwa kuri *Cour d'Appel* abandi babicira ku mugezi wa Mukungwa. Ibyo byabaye kuya 14 Mata 1994. Ababashije kurokoka haje amabwiriza ko bagomba gusubira mu ma Komini iwabo, ubwo nibwo bongeye na none kubapakira, babasubiza muri Komini Nyarutovu. Ubwo batangiraga kumanuka umusozi wa Buranga, urenze ahubatse Urwibutso rwa Jenoside ugana ku Karere ka Gakenke, umushoferi wari utwaye imodoka barimo yarayubitse abamanurira munsi y'umukingo, babakurikizayo za *grenades* n'amasasu menshi[58].

Kuwa 7 Mata 1994 bishe kandi Abatutsi bo kumurambo. Ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994 hishwe Abatutsi bari batuye Ruhangari harimo umusaza Kayonga, yishwe n'Interahamwe zirangije

58 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya RWANGARINDE Adrien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

zitwara inka ze, bukeye kuwa 11 Mata 1994 bica umukobwa we witwa Zaninka[59].

Mu Kivuruga hiciwe Abatutsi benshi, bicwa n'Interahamwe zari ziyobowe na Ndahayo Godefroy. Umusirikare witwa *Capitain* Hasengineza wari uyoboye bariyeri yari yashyizwe mu Kivuruga nawe yagize uruhare rukomeye mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi b'Abanyago, bari batuye mu Kivuruga muri Ruhinga ya I n'iya II. Ruhinga ya I n'iya II ziciwemo Abatutsi benshi babarirwa hagati ya 300 na 400. Gusa Abanyago benshi baguye kuri Superefegitura ya Busengo mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde. Uretse Ruhinga, muyahoze ari Segiteri Bwisha naho haguye Abatutsi benshi.

Urupfu rw'umuryango wa Kavutse i Nyarubuye rugaragaza uburyo Jenoside yari yarateguwe mu buryo bunonosoye. Uyu Kavutse yari afite ubukwe; umuhungu we witwa Kagabo yari gushyingirwa kuwa 7 Mata 1994. Ibi ariko ntibyahawe agaciro kuko yahise yicwa n'abamutahiye ubukwe; abasirikare bagose urugo barimo barabica. Mu bishwe harimo Nemeye, Munyago, Kanyabugoyi, Rufari, Mubirigi, Kanani, Kanyabugoyi, Mihigo, Kagaba n'abandi. Bafashwe n'abasirikale babicira mu gitahe.

Kimwe na Ruhinga, mu Murenge wa Bwisha hishwe Abatutsi benshi. Nk'uko bigaragara mu nyandiko za Gacaca mu bamamaye mu bwicanyi mu Kagari ka Kirabo hari Munyaneza Aloys, Ndabere Anaclet, Nzarubara, Gacucu Jean, Bizimana Evariste, Ntawukenayenda, Ntegera, Munyampirwa, Vitari, Bazamanza Francois, Mbonabucya, Sindikubwabo, Ntawukizuwe, Buhigiro, Nizeyimana, Niyibizi, Ntahontuye, Bizimana, Nkulingoma, Kanyamibwa, Banziyekare, Jigo, Nzabonompa, Siridiyo, Bitezimana, Nyirinkwaya, Ngomiranze, Rucahobatinya, Munyeshema, Nizeyimana, Ntibushira, Sebashumba, Mubera,

59 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BAZIRUSHAKA Athanase mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Gakwaya, Biramahire, Ngirabatware, Ngendahimana, Mutembezi/Nangideni, Habimana, Munyawera, Uwizeye, Ntamukunzi, Hakuzimana n'abandi.

Mu bamamaye mu bwicanyi mu Kagali ka Mwendo hari Mbarushimana mwene Benzige na Nyirabikari, Nungukiyimana mwene Nsekanabo na Kajenone, Bugenimana mwene Nkwiro na Nyirabagande, Hidimendi mwene Ntungiyehe na Nyirabagwiza.

Mu bamamaye mu bwicanyi muri Nyarutovu hari Ndahayo, Byanashaka, Karikobwa , Rusine, Mpakaniye, Nibwirende, Juma, Nteri, Marcellin, Ruvuga, Bukerimanza, Mutabaruka, Kimasa, Gasigwa n'abandi. Izi nterahamwe zikaba zari zifite ibirindiro kuri Bariyeri yabaga mu Kivuruga ikuriwe n'Interahamwe yitwaga Mutabazi.

Kivuruga na Buranga haguye Abatutsi benshi. Bakaba barishwe n'Interahamwe zifatanije n'abasirikare babaga aho mu misozi ya Kivuruga na Buranga barimo Capitaine Hasengineza. *Capitaine* Hasengineza, wari umusirikare kandi asanzwe avuka Kivuruga, niwe watozaga Interahamwe zo mu Kivuruga, akaba azwi kuba yaragize uruhare runini mu gutoteza no kwica Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu. Muri rusange abasirikare bababa Kivuruga bashishikaye mu guhohotera no kwica Abatutsi kuva mu 1990 kugeza ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ihagaritswe na FPR-Inkotanyi[60].

4.6. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nyamutera

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyamutera, mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994, ahantu hatandukanye hashyizwe bariyeri zafatiweho zinicirwaho Abatutsi. Muri Segiteri ya Tubungo hari

60 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NYIRANEZA Justine mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

bariyeri yiciweho Abatutsi benshi. Ikaba yariho Interahamwe ziyobowe na Nkurubindi. Uyu Kurubindi yabaga akenshi afatanije n'Interahamwe zaturutse muri Komini Giciye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Abatutsi biciwe muri Komini Nyamutera abenshi muribo bajugunywe mu mugezi wa Mukungwa. Mu bamamaye mu bwicanyi harimo Hagumakwiha wari Perezida w'Interahamwe, Nkurubindi, Munyagisenyi, Munyanshogoza n'abandi[61].

4.7. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Ndusu

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ndusu, gushyira mu bikorwa Jenoside byari ibintu byoroshye kubera ko imyiteguro yari yarakozwe mu buryo buhagije. Ni muri urwo rwego abaturage bashishikaye, barica kuko bari barigishijwe ko Umututsi ari umwanzi, kandi ko kumwikiza ari gahunda ya Leta.

Muri Komini Ndusu, Abatutsi benshi biciwe muri Segiteri ya Janja. Ubwo Jenoside yatangiraga gushyirwa mu bikorwa, Abatutsi bahungiye kuri Paruwasi Gatorika ya Janja bizeye ko baza kuharokokera. Interahamwe zimaze kumenya ko hari Abatutsi bahungiye kuri Paruwasi ya Janja, zabateye ku itariki ya 10 Mata 1994. Interahamwe zihageje, ntawazikomye mu nkokora, Padiri Rwamayaya yarabatanze maze Interahamwe zibica nta nkomyi. Abatutsi biciwe aho kuri Paruwasi ya Janja bahise batabwa mu rutoki (mu nsina) rwari inyuma ya Paruwasi.

Uretse aha kuri Paruwasi ya Janja, Abatutsi biciwe hirya no hino muri Komini Ndusu. Bagendeye ku mahame ya Mugesera wari waratanze ubutumwa bwo gusubiza Abatutsi iwabo banyujijwe

61 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSENGIMANA Alfred mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

muri Nyararongo, Abatutsi benshi bishwe baroshywe mu mugezi wa Mukungwa na Nyabarongo[62].

Mu bishwe muri Ndusu harimo Rwamirera batsinze kuri Mukungwa, Yankulije, Nyirahabimana, Barayagwiza, Bagirubusa, abana n'umubyeyi Nzigira batwikiye munzu; aba bishwe na Raphael, Gisaza, Bitege na Musabyimana. Hari kandi Mukabutera; Gasoni na Uzamukunda baroshywe mu mugezi, Mukabutera bicishije ubuhiri bamutaba munsi y'umuhanda, n'abandi benshi.

Mu bayoboye ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Ndusu harimo Konseye wa Janja Iyamurenye Jean, Rugengamanzi, Renzaho n'abandi.

Ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yari imaze gusakara muri Komini hose, abaturage batitabiriye ubwicanyi bamaganiwe kure n'ubuyobozi, nk'uko bigaragara mu ibaruwa yo kuwa 15 Mata 1994 Burugumesitiri wa Komini Ndusu Bigirimana Jean Sauveur yandikiye Konseye wa Segiteri Rusoro amubwira ko biteye agahinda kuba abaturage be dakora nk'ibyabandi barimo gukora. Muri iyo baruwa, Burugumesitiri ashingira ku ibaruwa yo kuwa 13 Mata 1994 yandikiwe na Ndacyayisenga Jean wari Perezida w'Interahamwe muri Segiteri ya Rusoro amubwira ko i Rusoro hari umutwe wihaye kurinda Abatutsi baturanye wiyise *Abaharanira amahoro*. Nyuma yo kubona iyo baruwa, nibwo Burugumesitiri yandikiye Konseye wa Segiteri Rusoro kuwa 15 Mata 1994 ibaruwa ikubiyemo ubutumwa bukurikira:

> Bwana Konseye,
> Nkimara kubona ibaruwa ya Ndacyayisenga Jean, Perezida w'Interahamwe muri Segiteri ya Rusoro yanyandikiye kuwa 13 Mata 1994 ambwira ko i Rusoro hari umutwe wihaye kurinda Abatutsi baturanye, uwo mutwe ukaba wariyise *Abaharanira amahoro*.

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Ndakumenyesha ko biteye agahinda kubona badakora nk'ibyabandi barimo gukora. Ndacyayisenga akaba yanyandikiye ambwira ko Interahamwe ategeka zamusuzuguye bityo akaba yaritabaje Interahamwe zo muri Kilinga, uwo mutwe ukaba wabishemo Interahamwe ebyiri kandi zari zirimo kurwanya umwanzi w'Umututsi uri aho ngaho i Rusoro.

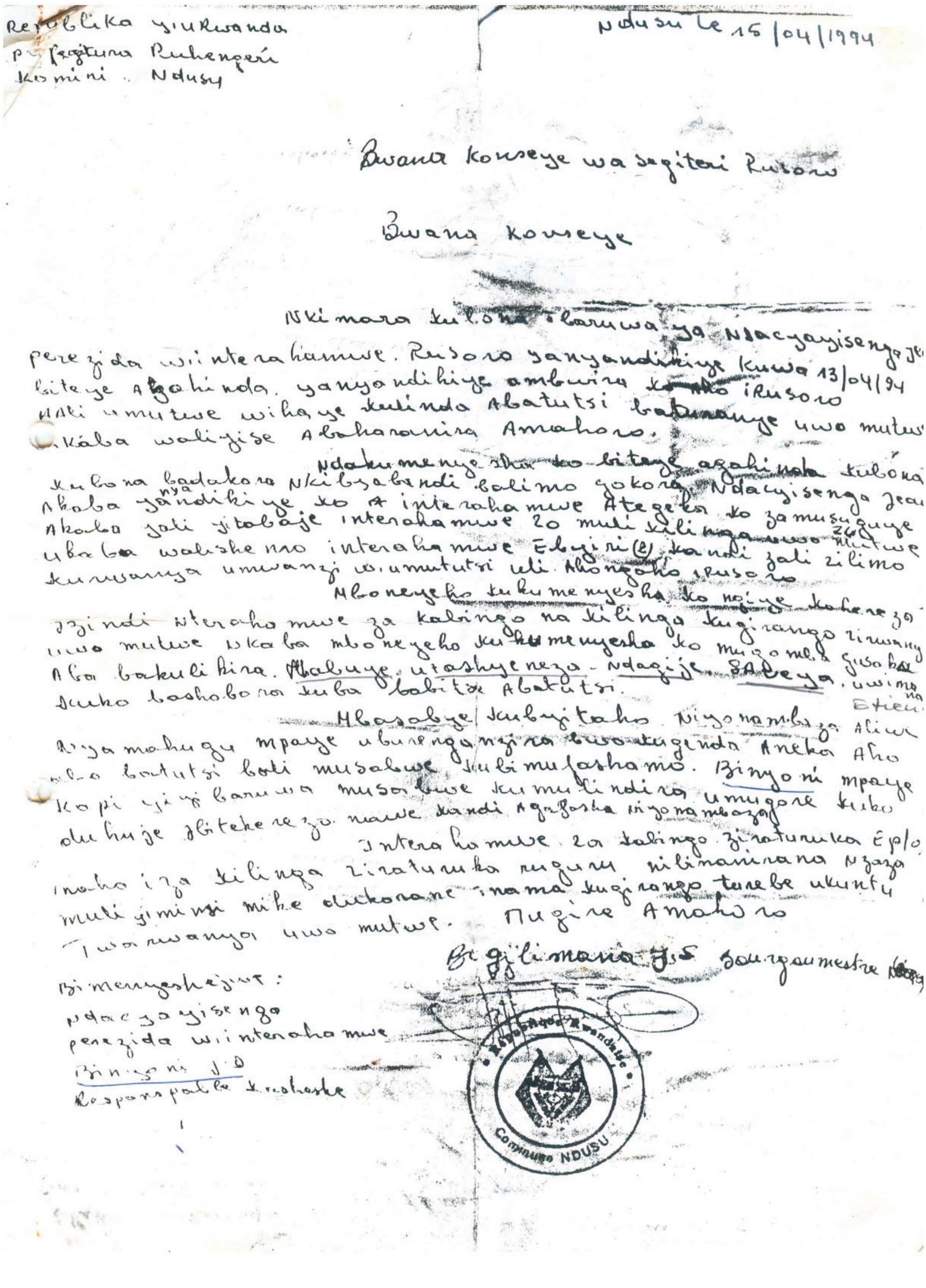
Mboneyeho kukumenyesha ko ngiye kohereza izindi nterahamwe za Kabingo na Kilinga kugira ngo zirwanye uwo mutwe. Nkaba mboneyeho kukumenyesha ko mugomba gusaka aba bakurikira: Mbabuye, Utashyeneza, Ndagije, Sabeya na Uwimana kuko bashobora kuba bafite Abatutsi.

Mbasabye kubyitaho. Niyonambaza aliwe Nyamahugu mpaye uburenganzira bwo kugenda aneka aho Abatutsi bari musabwe kubimufashamo. Binyoni Mpaye kopi y'iyi baruwa musabwe kumurindira umugore kuko duhuje ibitekerezo kandi agafasha Niyonambaza.

Interahamwe za Kabingo zizaturuka epfo naho iza Kilinga zizaturuka haruguru. Nibinanirana, nzaza muri iyi minsi mike dukorane inama kugira ngo turebe ukuntu twarwanya uwo mutwe.

Mugire amahoro.

Muri rusange iyi baruwa iragaragaza uburyo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 yari umugambi uzwi neza, wateguwe n'ubuyobozi kandi ugomba gushyirwa mu bikorwa uko byamera kose.



Repubulika y'u Rwanda
Perefegitura Ruhengeri
Komini Ndusu

Ndusu le 15/04/1994

Bwana Konseye wa Segiteri Rusoro

Bwana Konseye

Nkimara kubona ibaruwa ya Ndacyayisenga Jean perezida w'interahamwe. Rusoro yanyandikiye kuwa 13/04/94 bitewe agahinda. yanyandikiye ambwira ko i Rusoro nta umutwe wihaye kurinda Abatutsi batunganye uwo mutwe ukaba waligize Abahararira Amahoro.

Ndakumenyesha ko bitewe agahinda tubona kubona badakora nk'ibyabandi balimo gukora, Ndacyayisenga Jean akaba yanyandikiye ko interahamwe Ategeka ko za musugunye akaba yali yitabaje interahamwe zo muli kilinga zo uwo mutwe ukaba waliishe nyo interahamwe Ebyiri (2) kandi zali zilimo kurwanya umwanzi w'umututsi uli ahongaho i Rusoro.

Mboneyeho kukumenyesha ko nohereje kohereza izindi nterahamwe za kalingo na kilingo kugirango zirwanye uwo mutwe nkaba mboneyeho kukumenyesha ko muzo mera gusaba Aba bakulikira. Habuye, utashyeneza, Ndagije, Sabeya, uwimana Etienne Duko bashobora kuba babitse Abatutsi.

Mbasabye kubitaho. Niyonambaza Aliwe niyamahuga mpaye uburenganzira bwo kugenda aneka aho abo batutsi bali musabwe kubimufashamo. Binyoni mpaye kopi y'iyi baruwa musabwe kumulindira umugore kubo aduhuje ibitekerezo nawe kandi agafasha Niyonambaza.

Interahamwe za kalingo ziraturuka Ep/o inaho iza kilinga ziraturuka mugumu nilimaninana Nzaza muli yiminsi mike dukorane inama kugirango turebe ukuntu twarwanya uwo mutwe. Mugire Amahoro

Bizimana J.S. Bourgoumestre Ndusu

Bimenyeshejwe:
Ndacyayisenga
perezida w'interahamwe
Binyoni J.D
Responsable kushoshe

4.8. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, Abatutsi benshi bakomoka muri iyo Komini biciwe muri Komini Ndusu, i Janja no kuri Superefegitura ya Busengo. Uretse abaguye kuri Paruwasi ya Janja no kuri Superefegitura ya Busengo abandi benshi bishwe baroshywe mu ruzi rwa Mukungwa. Abatutsi benshi bo muri Gatonde baguye kandi kuri bariyeri zashyizwe mu Bunyironko, mu Ibyibuhiro no mu Biziba.

Mu bishwe muri Gatonde harimo Baharambe, Mwarabu, umuhungu wa Kazaribara witwaga John, Ntamashakiro, Batsinda Valensi, Kabusoro Florida, Mutezimana Aphrodis, Kalisa, Rurinda Félicien, Ndakaza Fabien, Annonciata n'abana be, Ngirumpatse n'umuryango we, Philibert, Munyampotore, imiryango ya Uzabakiriho Edouard, Evariste, Nyiramahirwe, Ndakaza, Batsinda, Munyaneza, Munyampotore, Fidèle, Cholette, Umuryango wa Rurinda, n'abandi baforongo benshi bari bahungiye i Busengo n'Ijanja. Mu bishwe harimo kandi Adera Ntashavu, Minsiriyo Dawudi, Uwizeye Alphonsine, Chantal Dufitamahoro na Nyirangoga, babishe kuri 3 Gicurasi 1994, babiciye ku mugezi wa Mukungwa. Bishwe n'igitero cyari kigizwe na Uwayezu Alphonse, Byago Antoni na Habimana Samwuel wari Resiponsabule; babasanze Nyakagezi babajyana kuri Mukungwa barabica babaroha muri uwo mugezi[63].

Mu bamamaye mu bikorwa by'ubwicanyi muri Komini Gatonde hari Nizeyimana Pierre bitaga Kaguta, Ngendahayo Emmanuel, Mutabaruka, Ntamahungiro, Hakiza, Ntamunsi, Murindabigwi, Ntakabanoza, Nahimana, Ntamunsi, hamwe n'izindi nterahamwe zari zinyanyagiye hirya no hino muri Komini. Biririwaga biruka imisozi bahiga Abatutsi bitwaje amafuni, imihoro n'amahiri.

63 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya BUHIGIRO Cassien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Ntamunsi akaba ari umwe mu nterahamwe zari zikomeye muri Gatonde. Interahamwe za Nyabihu nazo zakundaga kwambuka zikajya kwica muri Gatonde na Ndusu, bavuga ko bagiye kubohoza ibyigomeke byigomoye kuri MRND. Interahamwe ziturutse muri Vunga nazo zamamaye mu kwica Abatutsi muri Gatonde[64].

Ahitwa Busengo muri Komini Gatonde, hashyizweho bariyeri kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi ubasha guhunga. Bariyeri yashyizwe ahitwa i Ruhanga ku mashuri. Mu bari bayoboye iyo bariyeri harimo Bazirake Bernard wari resiponsibule wa Serire, Mbanzagukeba Bernard, Bacamukago Radislas, Murengerantwari na Byukusenge Venant. Ingo zagabweho ibitero muri Busengo ni urugo rwa: Byagusetsa Juvénal yagabweho igitero kiyobowe na Rwakarenga; Nyirambarubukeye yagabweho igitero kiyobowe na Ruzindana Prosper, Nsekambabaye, Munyabarame na Seguhirwa. Igitero cyagiye kwica kwa Seguhirwa Pierre na Mukankusi cyari kiyobowe na Nayigiziki Valens. Abandi Batutsi bishwe mu Kagari ka Busengo harimo: Nduwayezu, Ndayingize Rutagugumba, Nsanzimfura, Biziyaremye, Ryabonyende, Mugabarigira, Twizerimana Jean Bosco, Baganizi, Ruzindana, Nyandwi Ignace, Kanyamugenga, Biterurwa, Rwabukambiza n'abandi. Benshi bicishijwe intwaro za gakondo (imipanga, inkoni), abandi bicishwa imbunda barashwe[65].

Nyuma yo kwicwa, Abatutsi bo muri Komini ya Ndusu na Gatonde babarohaga mu nzuzi za Mukungwa na Nyabarongo.

4.9. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Cyeru

Mu yahoze ari Komini Cyeru, Abatutsi batangiye kwicwa guhera ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Kubera ko igice kimwe cya Komini

64 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HABIMANA Cyprien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

65 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Gakenke, Umurenge wa Busengo, Akagari ka Ruhanga.

Cyeru cyari mu gice kitashoboraga kuberamo imirwano, amasegiteri yabereyemo ubwicanyi ni Segiteri Rusarambuye, Buhombo, Kamubuga, Kigoba, Karingobo, Mugamba na Segiteri Karimborero. Umutangabuhamya wiciwe umuryango asobanura uko byagenze:

> Ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 habayeho guhumbahumba Abatutsi batari barahungiye mu gace kagenzurwaga na FPR-Inkotanyi. Muri Segiteri ya Rugendabare, Komini ya Cyeru mu kwezi kwa gatanu 1994 bahiciye Nyirampabanyanga Langwida, Kamahari Hilariya, abana ba Ntanturo Elias, Nizeyimana, Niyindagiye, Nyiransengimana na Harindintwari. Abari ku isonga muri ubwo bwicanyi harimo *Brigadier* wa Komini Cyeru Banyanga, Jandarume Basangira, n'umupolisi wa Komini Cyeru witwa Nsabagasani Thacien[66].

4.10. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, Abatutsi benshi biciwe muri Kamininu ya Nyakinama. Mu banyeshuri bahigaga bahiciwe hari Ntagungira Placide, Ntagwabira Basile, Kumuyange Egide, Karonji Canisius, Hategekimana Emmanuel, Gasinzigwa Michel, Rutayisire Théoneste, Niyongira Justin, Kagenza Alphonse n'abandi. Uretse muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama Abatutsi biciwe hirya no hino muri Komini. Aha twavuga mu yahoze ari Segiteri Kabere I habaye ibitero bitandukanye biyobowe na Nayigiziki Eliphazi mwene Kanyarutoki na Nyirabageni, Kandekwe mwene Mudakikwa na Nyirambabariye, Kimegeshi mwene Ruhomvu na Nyiragatsitsi n'abandi. Mu yahoze ari Segiteri ya Nkotsi, Mbonyurwanda, Niyitegeka, Munyaneza, Rukebesha, Kayamba n'abandi nabo bazwi nk'abamamaye mu bwicanyi muri iyi Segiteri.

66 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NTANTURO Elias mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

4.11. Amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *Campus* ya Nyakinama

Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *campus* ya Nyakinama yari iherereye mu yahoze ari Komini Nyakinama, ubu ni mu Karere ka Musanze.

4.11.1. Ishyirwaho rya Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *Campus* ya Nyakinama

Nyuma yaho Perezida Habyarimana akoreye *Coup d'Etat* Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire, habaye umwuka mubi hagati y'Abanyenduga n'Abakiga, kuko Abakiga bavugaga ko bahejwe mu mashuri no mu nzego za Leta mu gihe cy'Ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire. Ni muri urwo rwego hatangiye igitekerezo cyo kwimura amwe mu mashami ya Kaminuza y'u Rwanda akava mu Nduga i Butare, akegerezwa Abakiga mu Ruhengeri. Ibyo byatumye mu 1981, ishami ry'indimi (*Faculté des lettres*) riva muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare, ryimurirwa muri *Campus* ya Nyakinama. Bageze i Nyakinama, iyi Kaminuza yaranzwemo umwuka mubi hagati y'Abakiga n'Abanyenduga; aho uretse hagati y'abayobozi, abarimu, abanyeshuri; n'abaturage ubwabo batumvaga Abanyenduga muri rusange n'Abatutsi by'umwihariko. Bigeze mu 1988, ishami ry'uburezi (*Faculté* ya *Education)* naryo ryakuwe muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare, ryimurirwa muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *Campus* ya Nyakinama. Byari biteganijwe kandi ko ishami rya Siyansi (*Faculté de science)* naryo ryagombaga kwimurwa, Jenoside iba icyo cyemezo kitarashyirwa mu bikorwa.

4.11.2. Imibanire y'abakozi n'abanyeshuri muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *Campus* ya Nyakinama mbere ya 1990

Mu gihe bimukiraga muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *Campus* ya Nyakinama, imibanire hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, baba abarimu, abakozi n'abanyeshuri ntiyari myiza. Hari ivangura n'amacakubiri bishingiye ku karere (*régionalisme*) n'ubwoko

(*Ethnisme*). Wasangaga Abanyeshuri bakomoka mu Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Byumba (Abakiga) biyemera cyane ku bandi banyeshuri (Abanyenduga), aho babakangishaga ko bafite bakuru babo bakomeye mu gisirikare no mu butegetsi, ariho ijambo " *UZI ICYO NDICYO*" ryakundaga gukoreshwa n'abanyeshuri b'Abakiga bashaka gutera ubwoba bagenzi babo. Ibyo ariko ntibyabujije Kaminuza gukomeza imirimo yayo. Abanyeshuri barize bisanzwe, abarimu bakora ubushakashatsi, bagatangaza ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi *(publications*), bamwe bajya kwiga icyiciro cya gatatu (*PhD)* barimo Nsengimana Joseph, Rumiya Jean n'abandi[67].

Kaminuza ya Nyakinama imaze gutangira imirimo, Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Zigiranyirazo Protais yakoranye mu buryo bwa hafi n'abayobozi ba Kaminuza, dore ko mu bayobozi bayo harimo abahezanguni bazwi nka Ferdinand Nahimana na Léo Mugesera. Uretse aba bahezanguni, Kaminuza ya Nyakinama yarimo kandi abanyabwenge mu bice byose, barimo abanyamateka nka E. Ntezimana, G. Mbonimana, J-G Rumiya; impuguke mu ndimi nka T. Kabeja, L. Munyakazi, L. Nkusi; abarimu bakomeye nka P. Muswahiri, Maniragaba Baributsa n'abandi (Mfizi Christophe, 2006).

4.11.3. Gufunga Abatutsi babita ibyitso muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *campus* ya Nyakinama

Kuva mu 1990 ubwo RPF-Inkotanyi yatangizaga urugamba rwo kubohora Igihugu ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, umwuka wabaye mubi cyane muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Nibwo abarimu b'Abatutsi bafashwe bafungwa mu byitso, barimo *Professeur* Jean Damascène Ndayambaje, *Professeur* Laurent Nkusi n'abandi. Bafungiwe muri gereza ya Ruhengeri kubwo amahirwe baza gufungurwa n'ingabo za RPF-Inkotanyi ubwo

67 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya Professor Laurent NKUSI na NYIRACUMI Anne Marie, Kigali, Mata 2018

zafunguraga imfungwa n'abagororwa bari bafungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri ku ya 23 Mutarama 1991.

Kubera ko byari bisanzwe ko umwaka w'amashuri makuru na Kaminuza mu Rwanda utangira mu kwezi k'Ukwakira, ariko bikaza guhura n'uko FPR-Inkotanyi yatangije urugamba rwo kubohora igihugu kuva kuwa 1 Ukwakira 1990, byatumye imirimo ya *Campus* ya Nyakinama ihagaraga kuva mu Ukwakira 1990 kugera Nzeri 1991, bityo habaho umwaka w'imfabusa (*une année blanche)* ku banyeshuri. Ibyo ariko ntibyatumye Abarimu n'abakozi ba Kaminuza badahohoterwa kuko bari basanzwe batuye mu mazu (Amacumbi) ya Kaminuza i Nyakinama.

Nyuma y'amezi 12, byabaye ngombwa ko imirimo ya *Campus* ya Nyakinama isubukurwa. Nk'uko bigaraga mu nyandikomvugo y'inama y'umutekano yo kuwa 24 Nzeri 1991, hafashwe umwanzuro ko Kaminuza ya Nyakinama igomba gusubukura ibikorwa byayo kuwa 07 Ukwakira 1991 nk'uko byari byasabwe n'Umuyobozi wa Kaminuza y'u Rwanda (*Recteur de l'UNR*) mu ibaruwa ye n° 1.10/0829/91 yo kuwa 9/9/1991 yandikiye Perefe wa Butare, Kigali-Ville na Ruhengeri. Mu myanzuro y'iyo nama hemejwe kandi ko abanyeshuri bagomba kujya basakwa bageze kuri bariyeri mbere y'uko binjira muri Kaminuza. Iyo nama niyo yafatiwemo umwanzuro wirukana Prof. Ndayambaje Jean Damascène muri Kaminuza aho bavugaga ko habonetse ibimenyetso simusiga bigaragaza ko ari icyitso cy'Inkotanyi; Laurent Nkusi we yemererwa gusubira mu kazi. Byemejwe kandi ko Abanyeshuri bose bafunzwe kubera kwijandika mu byabaye mu Ukwakira 1990 batagomba kwemererwa kugaruka muri Kaminuza, ko urutonde rwabo rugomba kunozwa na Mulinda Thomas wari umuyobozi wa *Service de renseignement Prefectoral* (SRP) rugashyikirizwa Umuyobozi wungirije wa Kaminuza (Vice-Recteur) ya Nyakinama, Rwagasana Anatole, hamwe n'Umuyobozi wa ISAE-Busogo.

Iyo nama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri yafatiwemo ibyemezo byavuzwe haruguru yari yitabiriwe na:

- Dr. Nzabagerareza Charles wari Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri
- Kayitana Gaetan wari Superefe akaba n'umwanditsi w'inama
- Ntagandamwabo Felicien wari Supeerefe ushinzwe iby'ubukungu na Tekiniki;
- Ntarwanda Celestin wari Superefe
- Rurangirwa Théoneste wari Superefe
- Semasaka Faustin wari Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Kirambo
- Nzanana Dismas wari Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Busengo
- Lt. Colonel Bizimungu Augustin, Comd OPS Ruhengeri
- Munyangoga Eugène wari Umuyobozi wa SRP ucyuye igihe
- Mulinda Thomas wariUmuyobozi mushya wa SRP
- Barengayabo François wari Uhagarariye Perezida wa *Court d'Appel* Musanza akaba yari Vice President
- Mutemberezi André wari uhagarariye umushinjacyaha
- Bihira Alphonse wari umucamanza mu Rukiko rwa mbere rw'Iremezo
- Rwagasana Anatole wari Vice-Recteur wa Kaminuza ya Nyakinama
- Murego Alphonse wari Ségéral Adgoint w'agateganyo muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama
- Hakizimana Jean Baptiste wari umuyobozi wa CRI Ruhengeri
- Maniragaba Fabien wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Kigombe

- Nkurunziza Léonidas wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama
- Bagurijoro Leodomir wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyamutera
- Kajelijeli Juvénal wari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Mukingo

Kuva mu Ukwakira 1990, Kaminuza y'u Rwanda, *Campus* ya Nyakinama yakorewemo ibikorwa bitandukanye byagejeje kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 harimo; inama zitandukanye, gutoza intera interahamwe n'ibindi. Ibyo bikorwa bikaba byarabangikanywaga no guhohotera Abatutsi kugeza ubwo Jenoside nyirizina yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu 1994.

4.11.4. Ishyirwaho ry'Agatsiko kiswe *Cercles des Républicains Progressistes* (CRP) kaje kuvamo *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* (CDR)

Kuva mu 1991, hatangiye kugaraga ibimenyetso bikomeye byerekana umugambi wa Jenoside mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, harimo no kuyigerageza mu iyicwa ryakorewe Abagogwe babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi. Ni muri icyo gihe kandi abari bajijutse muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri bahuriye muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama aho bakoreye inama zitandukanye bashyiraho agatsiko kabahuza nk'abarwanashyaka ba MRND mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Inama ya mbere yabaye ku wa 22 Ukuboza 1991, hakurikiraho indi yabaye kuwa 5 Mutarama 1992, iya nyuma yemeza inyandiko y'ihuriro iterana ku wa 17 Mutarama 1992. Ako gatsiko katangiye gashakisha izina kazitwa. Mu mazina batekereje bagihura harimo 1) *Républicains du MRND*, 2) *Progressistes du MRND,* 3) *Cercle des Républicains na 4) Club des Républicains Progressistes*.

Muri izo nama bakomeje gutekereza uko bazitwa hemezwa izina *Cercle des Républicains Progressistes (CRP)*. Andi mazina batekereje ariko ntiyemezwa harimo : 1) *Unité de*

Républicains Progressistes, 2) *Cercle du MRND pour la Défense de la République (CDR)* na 3) *Cercle pour la Défense de la République (CPDR/CDR)*. Nyuma yo kwemeza izina, *Cercle des Républicains Progressistes (CRP)* yahise ikurirwa na Ndereyehe Charles. Icyari kigamijwe n'ako gatsiko kwari ukugira itsinda ry'abantu bazakorera inyungu za MRND ariko bititwa ko ari yo, bakavuga cyangwa bagakora icyo MRND itakora.

Komite mpuzabikorwa ya CRP, yatangiye igizwe n'abarwanashyaka ba MRND bakomoka mu cyari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri:

1. Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye wari Umuhuzabikorwa w'umushinga w'Ubuhinzi muri Gikongoro, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Cyabingo. Yagizwe Perezida wa CRP;

2. Nahimana Ferdinand wari umuyobozi Mukuru wa ORINFOR, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Gatonde. Yagizwe Visi-Perezida wa Mbere wa CRP, akanayobora itsinda rishinzwe '*Analyse des Stratégies'*;

3. Bakuzakundi Michel, wari umuyobozi mukuru w'uruganda rukana impu (SODEPARAL), agakomoka mu cyari Komini Mukingo. Yagizwe Visi-Perezida wa Kabiri, akanayobora itsinda rishinzwe '*Evaluation et Orientation'*;

4. Maniliho Faustin yari Umuyobozi muri MINIMART agakomoka mu cyari Komini Nkuli. Yagizwe Umunyamabanga wa CRP, akanayobora itsinda rishinzwe amakuru 'Information';

5. Hakizimana Déogratias wari Umuyobozi (Chef de Division) muri MINIMART, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Kigombe. Yagizwe Umubitsi wa CRP;

6. Nyirasafari Gaudence yari umwe mubagize Komite y'igihugu ya MRND akaba n'umuyobozi mukuru wa ONAPO. Akomoka mu cyari Komini Kigombe ;

7. Renzaho Juvénal yari *Chef de Service* muri Perezidansi ndetse yaje kuba umujyanama wa Habyarimana, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Nyakinama ;

8. Gasore Rukara Pierre yari Umuhuzabikorwa wa Programme yitwa PRIME, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Kigombe ;

9. Nizeyimana Félicien ntiberekanye aho akomoka n'icyo akora uretse ko yari mu itsinda rishinzwe '*Analyse des Stratégies'*;

10. Ntabahwana Suku Jean Bernard yari ashinzwe Ikoranabuhanga mu Ishami ry'umuryango w'Abibumbye ryo Gutsura Amajyambere (UNDP/PNUD) agakomoka mu cyari Komini Mukingo

11. Rutayoberana Alexandre wari Umujyanama muby'amategeko muri Banki ya Kigali-BK, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Nyarutovu

12. Sisi Jean Damascène wari *Chef de Division* muri ORTPN, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Kidaho

13. Mutwewingabo Bernard wari umwarimu muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Ruhondo ;

14. Semasaka Gabriel wari umuyobozi ukuriye Urwego rushinzwe Intanga z'amatungo (CNIA), agakomoka mu cyari Komini Cyeru

15. Gasore Alexis wari umuyobozi w'urwego P.S.G, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Gatonde;

16. Nshimyimana Alexis wari Umunyamakuru muri ORINFOR (azwi cyane mu kiganiro 'Ejo nzamera nte'), agakomoka mu cyari Komini Nyamugali ;

17. Gatashya Jean Berchmans yari umukozi wa Minisiteri y'ibikorwa remezo MINITRAPE, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Kidaho;

18. Karabayinga Celestin wari umukozi wa ORINFOR, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Nyakinama;

19. Semasaka Aloys yari umukozi wa Minisiteri y'Amashuri Yisumbuye na za Kaminuza (MINISUPRES) agakomoka mu cyari Komini Mukingo;

20. Ndagijimana Jean Claude yari umukozi wa ELECTROGAZ, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Gatonde; na Mbonyintwali Aphrodice wari umukozi wa MINAGRI, agakomoka mu cyari Komini Nyarutovu.

MRND yakomeje gushyiraho amashyirahamwe nk'ayo arimo *Ligue Indépendante pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme (LIDEL)*, yayoborwaga na Mushyandi Joseph; hakaba akandi gatsiko ko kuri Kaminuza y'i Butare kitwaga *Groupe des Défenseurs des Intérêts de la Nation*, icyitwaga ARDEVI-TABARA cyayoborwaga na Nahimana Ferdinand, "*Le Cercle des Républicains Universitaires de Butare*" iyoborwa na Dr. Rwamucyo Eugène, n'ibindi….

Cercle des Républicains Progressistes (CRP), yaje guhinduka yitwa *Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR).*

4.11.5. Gutoza imitwe yitwara gisirikare no gutanga ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *campus* ya Nyakinama

Kaminuza ya Nyakinama yagize uruhare rutaziguye mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Muri iyo Kaminuza, hatangiwe imyitozo ya gisirikare yahawe insoresore zigera ku bihumbi bine (4000) zazanywe na *Colonel* Bivugabagabo. Nyuma yo guhabwa imyitozo ya gisirikare, izo

nsoresore zahawe imbunda, bamwe muri bo bapakirwa amabisi (bus) bajya ku rugamba i Kigali muri Kamena 1994. Usibye izo nsoresore zatojwe ibya gisirikare, abanyeshuri, abakozi ba Kaminuza n'abarimu bahawe imyitozo ya gisirikare, nyuma bahabwa imbunda. Bitorezaga iruhande rwa *salle polyvalente* muri *gazon* yari hafi ya *Antenne Parabolique*[68].

Kugira ngo umugambi wa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ubashe gushyirwa mu bikorwa muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, hatanzwe ibikoresho byagombye kwifashishwa mu bwicanyi bigizwe cyane cyane n'imbunda. Imbunda zikaba zaratanzwe na *Colonnel* Bivugabaga Marcel wazitanze mu banyeshuri, abarimu ba Kaminuza ndetse no mu basivile bari barahawe imyitozo. Imbunda zatanzwe na *Colonne*l Bivugabaga Marcel afatanije na *Major Gendarme* Léandre.

Sous Lieutenant Bisengimana Ibrahim nawe yahaye Rukemanganizi Bernard imbunda nto yo mu bwoko bwa *Pistolet*, bakaba bari basanzwe bigana muri *Department* y'Icyongereza muri *Licence* ya mbere. *Sous Lieutenant* Bisengimana Ibrahim akaba yari umunyeshuri ariko asanzwe umusirikare uretse ko muri icyo gihe yari yarakomerekeye ku rugamba, biba ngombwa ko agaruka.

Mu bahawe imbunda muri rusange, umutangabuhamya mu Nkiko Gacaca avuga: Rukemanganizi Bernard wahawe *Pistolet*, aba *reservistes* bakoreraga kuri bariyeri ebyiri za Kaminuza : imwe epfo indi haruguru muri Kaminuza, n'abandi bakozi ba Kaminuza n'aba sivile bafatiye imyitozo yo gukoresha imbunda muri Kaminuza.

68 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muko, Akagari ka Ruburanwa, UNR, Campus de Nyakinama, Ubuhamya bw'Umutangabuhamya wigaga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama mu 1994.

4.11.6. Gukora urutonde rw'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *campus* ya Nyakinama

Mu mugambi wo gutegura ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, hakozwe urutonde rw'Abatutsi bagombaga kwicwa. Lisiti yakozwe babeshya ko bashaka kumenya abantu baba muri Kaminuza batavuka mu Ntara y'Amajyaruguru y'u Rwanda kugira ngo babashakire imodoka yo kubajyana iwabo no kugira ngo babahe avance kuri *Bourse d'étude.* Mu banyeshuri bashyizwe ku rutonde rw'abagombaga kwicwa harimo Yves wakomokaga mu Nyakabanda i Gitarama, Twagirayezu wakomokaga i Gitarama, Etiènne wakomokaga i Butare, Kabariza Philippe wakomokaga ku Gikongoro, Ntabwoba Chrisostome wakomokaga i Butare, Makuza Jenvier wakomokaga i Byumba, Kamugore Desiré wakomokaga i Gitarama, Beyata wakomokaga ku Kibuye, Kayitesi Jacqueline wakomokaga i Byumba i Kinihira, Itangishaka Valens wakomokaga i Byumba, Gatarama Tharcisse wakomokaga Rushashi, Kigali Ngali, Martin wakomokaga Bicumbi, Ndayambaje Jean Damascene wakomokaga Rushashi, Nsabayumva Colette wakomokaga ku Gikongoro, Gerturde na murumuna we bakomokaga i Kibungo, Florent wakoraga muri Biblotheque wakomokaga i Gitarama n'abandi.

Uretse uru rutonde rwakozwe ku banyeshuri, hakozwe n'urutonde rwihariye rwariho abakozi ba Kaminuza.

Mu bakoze urutonde rw'abanyeshuri bagombaga kwicwa, umutangabuhamya mu nkiko Gacaca avugamo bamwe mu bari ku isonga y'icyo gikorwa harimo Kazuba Adonie, Rukemanganizi Bernard, Lundi Jean Paul, Léonard wari umukozi, ashinzwe amacumbi muri Kaminuza, Marcel wari *Directeur du Service aux Etudiants*, Bankeka Alphonse, Murego Alphonse n'abandi.

4.11.7. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *campus* ya Nyakinama

N'ubwo imibanire yari isanzwe ari mibi hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, ibintu byabaye bibi cyane nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege yari itwaye Perezida Habyarimana Juvenal, aho ku itariki 7 Mata 1994, batangiye kwibasira Abatutsi bikozwe n'agatsiko k'abanyeshuru b'Abahutu barimo Kazuba wakomokaga muri Butaro, akaba yarigaga mu mwaka wa nyuma (*Licence ya II*) muri *Faculté d'Education*, Umunyeshuri wiyitaga Bikomagu wigaga muri *Departement ya Histoire* n'abandi.

Ubwicanyi nyirizina muri *Campus* ya Nyakinama bwatangiye kuwa 22 Mata 1994. Nk'uko byasobanuwe n'Umutangabuhamya mu Nkiko Gacaca Nzabonitegeka Gabriel alias Toneri, wigaga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama akanagira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri iyo Kaminuza, avuga ko Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Nsabumugisha Basile afatanije na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama Hatangimana François, ukuriye ingabo (*Commandant OPS* Ruhengeri) *Colonel* Bivugabagabo Marcel, bafashe Abatutsi bose, ari abanyeshuri, abakozi n'abarimu ba Kaminuza ya Nyakinama babarunda mu nzu imwe, maze bayishyiraho uburinzi bw'abasirikare kugira ngo hatazagira utoroka, bityo bazabone uko babica bitabagoye. Abatutsi barunzwe mu nzu yari imbere y'icumbi rya Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Igihe cyo kubica kigeze, abicanyi barabafashe babambutsa kaburimbo babageza muri Segiteri ya Kanza bashorewe n'abasirikare bari kumwe na Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama Hatangimana François, bajya kubicirayo. Icyo gihe Burugumesitiri yari yazanye imodoka ya Komini yo mu bwoko bwa *Hilux* yatwaye imirambo y'Abatutsi babiri bari bamaze kwicirwa mu icumbi ry'abanyeshuri i Nyakinama.

Abo umutangabuhamya yashoboye kumenya bishwe icyo gihe ni Liberata n'umwana we w'umuhungu ndetse n'umuyaya we;

Beata bitaga Miss Kibuye, Umugore wa Fidèle, Itangishaka Valens n'abanyeshuri babiri bakomokaga ku Kibuye. Makuza Janvier yiciwe mu cyumba yaryamagamo, abanyeshuri bagenzi be bamaze kumwica batwaye umurambo we bajya kuwujugunya hanze ya Kaminuza. Abatutsi biciwe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama bajyanywe gushyingurwa muri Segiteri ya Kanza. Hishwe kandi Ntabwoba Jean Chrisostome na Kabalisa Phillippe na Florent wakoraga muri Bibliothèque n'abandi. Nyuma yo kubica, abakoraga isuku muri Kaminuza bajyanye umurambo wa Kabalisa Phillippe kuwushyingurwa mu Murenge wa Kanza; naho Ntabwoba Jean Chrisostome na Makuza Jenvier batwarwa n'imodoka ya Komini Nyakinama nijoro. Umurambo wa Florent wo washyinguwe n'abari baturiye aho yiciwe kuko wakuwe mu muhanda aho wari uri bajya ku mushyingura mu rutoki.

Ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, hagabwe ibitero bibiri muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, kimwe cyagabwe muri Mata 1994, ikindi muri Gicurasi 1994.

Igitero cya mbere cyagabwe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama cyari kiyobowe n'abari bagize *Comité de Crise des Etudiants déplacés de guerre-UNR-CUR* yari igizwe na : Kazuba Adonie, Lundi Jean Paul na Rukemanganizi B., bafatanije n'Interahamwe zabaga i Nyakinama zicumbitse hafi y'aho Mihati yacururizaga. Icyo gitero cyari kigizwe kandi n'Interahamwe zaturutse mu Byangabo muri Komini Mukingo ku bufatanye bw'abayobozi b'abanyeshuri bariho icyo gihe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Mu bitabiriye icyo gitero harimo kandi *Sous Lieutenant* Pascal wari ukuriye *compagnie Garde Poste Commandement OPS* Ruhengeri. Abandi bari muri icyo gitero harimo Nzabonintegeka Gabriel alias Toneri n'Interahamwe zari ziturutse mu Byangabo zazanywe n'imodoka zigera kuri eshanu.

Kwica Abatutsi muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama byakozwe ku mabwiriza ya Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri Nsabumugisha Basile, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama

Hatangimana François bafatanije na *Colonel* Bivugabagabo Marcel wasimbuye *Colonel* Bizimungu Augustin ubwo yaramaze kugirwa *Chef d'Etat Major* wa FAR.

Igitero cya Kabiri cyagabwe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama muri Gicurasi 1994. Mu bayoboye icyo gitero harimo: Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama Hatangimana François, Perefe wa Ruhengeri Nsabumugisha Basile, *Colonel* Bivugabagabo Marcel wari *Commandant OPS* Ruhengeri; *Major Gendarme* Léandre wa Jandarumeri *groupement* Ruhengeri; Sous *Lieutenant* Landerne Revoqué wari muri Batayo Parakomando, *Sous Lieutenant* Hasengimana Ibrahim wigaga mu gashami k'icyongereza, Rukemanganizi Bernard wigaga mu gashami k'icyongereza (*département Anglais*), Kazuba Adonie wigaga muri *Faculté de Science de L'Education*; Lundi Jean Paul nawe wigagaga muri *Faculté de Science de L'Education,* Bankeka Alphonse; Nzabonitegeka Gabriel alias Toneri; Ndereyimana Venuste alias Kavukire; Kamegeli Jean Chrisostome alias Semajeri; Kalisa Dominique; Niyonzima Maximilien; Nyiringondo Aloys wari président wa MRND muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama; Umushoferi watwaraga imodoka ya Hilux ya Kaminuza ya Nyakinama; Sebarera wari umuzamu wa Kaminuza ya Nyakinama n'abandi.

Abatutsi bishwe n'igitero cya kabiri n'abari bararunzwe mu nzu imwe bitegetetswe na Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile afatanije na Burugumesitiri wa Nyakinama Hatangimana François n'Abakonseye ba Komini Nyakinama. Mu bishwe babashije kumenyekana harimo Ntabwoba Jean Chrisostome wari umunyeshuri wakomokaga i Butare; Kabalisa Philippe wari umunyeshuri wakomokaga ku Gikongoro; Makuza Janvier w'umunyeshuri wakomokaga i Byumba; Itangishaka Valens wari umunyeshuri wakomokaga i Byumba n'abasore babiri bakomokaga ku Kibuye[69]. Bose biciwe muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, bicishwa amasasu.

69 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muko, Akagari ka Ruburanwa, UNR, Campus de Nyakinama, Ubuhamya bw'Umutangabuhamya wigaga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama mu 1994.

Nyuma yo kwica Abatutsi muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama muri Gicurasi 1994, abasirikare basahuye ibintu bitandukanye by'Abatutsi babaga muri iyo Kaminuza bafatanije n'abanyeshuri b'Abahutu bigaga muri iyo kaminuza harimo abitwa Manzi Théogène na Kalisa Dominique.

Ubwo abasirikare b'abafaransa bageraga mu Rwanda muri Kamena 1994 baje muri *Operation Turquoise*, abanyeshuri, abakozi, abarimu n'ubuyobozi bwa Kaminuza ya Nyakinama bakoze urugendo ruva kuri Kaminuza berekeza mu mujyi wa Ruhengeri, rwari rugamije guha ikaze no gushyigikira *Opération Turquoise.* Bari bitwaje ibyapa byanditseho *NO "TIP" "bisobanura ngo "No Tutsi International Power" No museveni hima empire*, bagendaga baririmba indirimbo za Bikindi, bahamagarira Abahutu kwishyira hamwe bagatsemba Abatutsi[70].

4.11.8. Abagize uruhare mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda *campus* ya Nyakinama

Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Kaminuza ya Nyakinama ryagizwemo uruhare n'abayobozi ba Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri na Komini ya Nyakinama, bafatanije n'inzego za MRND zari zarashyizweho muri *Campus* ya Nyakinama ndetse n'inzego z'umutekano. Mu bayobozi bagize uruhare mu ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama, umutangabuhamya[71] mu nkiko gacaca avuga:

70 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muko, Akagari ka Ruburanwa, UNR, Campus de Nyakinama, Ubuhamya bw'Umutangabuhamya wigaga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama mu 1994.

71 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muko, Akagari ka Ruburanwa, UNR, Campus de Nyakinama, Ubuhamya bw'Umutangabuhamya wigaga muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama mu 1994.

- Nsabumugisha Basile: Nsabumugisha Basile yari Perefe wa Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa nyuma yo gusimbura Perefe Bariyanga Sylvestre wishwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994. Perefe Nsabumugisha Basile yakoresheje inama muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama yateguriwemo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Kaminuza. Ibi yabikoze nyuma yo kubisabwa n'Abakonseye ba Segiteri n'abahagarariye amashyaka, bavuga ko muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama huzuyemo abanzi.

- Hatangimana François: Hatangimana François yari Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nyakinama yari yubatsemo Kaminuza ya Nyakinama. Ubwo Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, Hatangimana François yagiye gusaka mu mazu yose ya Kaminuza, ashaka kumenya aho Abatutsi bihishe. Umutangabuhamya mu Nkiko Gacaca avuga ko Hatangimana François yaje kuzana igitero cy'Interahamwe zishe Abatutsi bari muri Kaminuza ya Nyakinama.

- *Sous Lieutenant* Bisengimana Ibrahim yagiye munzu abanyeshuri bararagamo muri Bloc D, atoranya mu bandi banyeshuri Abatutsi bagombaga kwicwa;

- *Sous Lieutenant* Makuza Didace watangaga amakuru ku banyeshuri b'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa naho Sous-Lieutenant Landerne yarashe Umututsi witwa Ntabwoba.

Mu bari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bwa MRND muri *Campus* ya Nyakinama, umutangabuhamya yagarutse kandi kuri:

- Daniel umukwe wa Ntahobari na Nyiramasuhuko, akaba yari Perezida wa MRND muri Kaminuza.

- Sehirwa Thimothéo, umuhungu wa Mukuru wa Semanza Laurent wo muri Komini Bicumbi; akaba yari umwanditsi wa MRND muri Kaminuza.

4.12. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri Komini Nkumba, Kidaho na Butaro

Muri Mata 1994 igice cya Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri kigizwe na Komini Nkumba, Kidaho na Butaro cyari muri "*zone tempo*", igice kitagombaga kurangwamo ingabo z'impande zombi.

Ubwo Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa mu 1994 ingabo zari iza FPR-Inkotanyi zahise zitabara, zifata ako gace kari muri "*Zone Tempo*" bituma Abatutsi bari bahari baticwa cyane. Abatutsi bari batuye muri izo Komini bajyanjwe muri Komini Kidaho na Butaro ahari hasanzwe hari ibirindiro by'Inkotanyi. Ibi akaba aribyo byatumye nta Batutsi benshi biciwe muri izo Komini mu gihe cya Jenoside[72].

Abatangabuhamya batandukanye bavuga ko abayobozi kuva ku rwego rwa Perefegitura, Komini na Segiteri bagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Joseph Nzirorera nawe agarukwaho n'abatangabuhamya benshi mu kugira uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi muri Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Uruhare rwe ruhera mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 1991 ubwo hicwaga Abatutsi b'Abagogwe muri Komini Nkuli, Mukingo na Kinigi.

4.13. Ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo ryakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

Mu gihe cy'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, kwica Abatutsi byagendanaga n'ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo hirya no hino mu makomini atandukanye. Abatutsi bishwe urwagashinyaguro, abenshi basaba gutanga ikiguzi kugira ngo nibura bicishwe amasasu, ariko ntibyakunda, kuko intego y'abicanyi kwari ukubabaza mbere y'uko bashyiramo umwuka.

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72 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKASONGA Perusi mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, Abatutsi bicishijwe amashanyarazi. Mu gihe Abatutsi bari bashatse guhungira mu Kigo cya Mukamira, abasirikare babangiye kwinjira. Nyuma yo kubima ubuhungiro, abasirikare bo mu Kigo cya Mukamira bafatanije n'Interahamwe bacukuye icyobo kinini imbere y'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Mukamira, barangije bashyiramo Abatutsi ari bazima, bahera kubana zibaryamisha hasi muri cya cyobo, zikurikizaho abantu bakuru; kubera ko hafi aho hari ipoto y'umuriro, za nterahamwe zizana urutsinga rw'umuriro w'Amashanyarazi zirucomeka ku ipoto ziyoborera umuriro muri cya cyobo, abantu bagera kuri 84 bicwa n'umuriro w'amashanyarazi[73]. Abari baroshwe muri icyo cyobo bapfuye baturagurika nka *bombe*.

Muri Komini Nkuli na none, abicanyi bakoresheje kandi *essence* batwikira Abatutsi mu mazu yabo cyangwa aho babaga bihishe. Ku mashuri yo mu Gasiza, Abatutsi bishwe urubozo batwikishwa *essence*. Abahiciwe bari biganjemo abagore n'abana, bose hamwe barenga ijana[74].

Ku rusengero rwa Hesha ho muri Segiteri ya Mukamira naho habaye iyicarubozo. Hari abari n'abategarugori basambanywaga ku gahato nyuma yo kubasambanya bakabashingamo ibiti mu rwego rwo kubica urubozo. Muri Segiteri Kintobo, Interahamwe zirimo Nzabandora, Niyonzima na Gisamuhari bafashe umugore wa muramu wa Pasteur Semikore baramusambanya, barangije bamuteramo ibisongo, kugeza avuyemo umwuka[75].

Mukarugambwa we yasambanije ku ngufu n'Interahamwe z'insoresore zivuga ko zigomba kumwigiraho uko basambana. Mu kumusambanya insoresore zahamagaraga abana ngo baze barebe, bamwakuranwaho kugeza ashyizemo umwuka.

73 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anasthase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

74 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmas mu Karere ka Nyabihu,Gashyantare 2017

75 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SEMIKORE Pasteur mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Werurwe 2017

Babonye agiye kuvamo umwuka, umugabo witwa Shirubwiko yamujugunye mu musarani n'umwana we[76].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Mukingo, Interahamwe zasambanije abari n'abategarugori b'Abatutsikazi benshi nyuma zikabakorera iyicarubozo[77]. Nyuma y'aho Burugumesitiri Kajelijeli atanze amabwiriza yo kwica Abatutsi bakabatsembaho, ku isoko ryo mu byangabo, Interahamwe ebyiri: Gapfobo Mbonankira na Rugumire Nteziyaremye zasambanije ku gahato umukobwa witwaga Joyce mu rugo kwa Rudatinya. Zimaze kumusambanya zamuteye icumu mu rubavu no mu myanya ndangagitsina. Amaze gupfa zamutwikirije ijipo ye. Na none ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 izindi nterahamwe ebyiri, Nteziyaremye na Uyamuremye mwene Zirarusha zishe Nyiraburanga, zimuca ibere zigenda ziririgata[78].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Kigombe, ubwo bicaga Abatutsi bari bahungiye kuri *Cour d'Appel*, Interahamwe zafataga abana zikabica zibakubise ku nkuta z'inyubako. Umwe mu batangabuhamya waharokokeye asobanura ko: Ubwo bicaga Abatutsi kuri *Cour d'Appel*, Interahamwe yitwa Bijeberi yafataga abana b'impinja akabica akoresheje kubakubita ku nkuta[79].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Ndusu, ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo byaranzwe no guteramo abagore n'abakobwa ibisongo aho kandi mbere yo kubica babanzaga kubaboha ngo badacika. Mu bakorewe iyicarubozo harimo Ayinkamiye Espérance, Mutezinka Immaculée n'abandi[80].

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76 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

77 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anasthase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

78 ICTR, Urubanza Ubushinjacyaha buregamo Kajelijeli Juvénal, Case N° ICTR-98-44A-T, p.194.

79 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAGAKWAYA Yuliyana mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

80 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSENGIMANA Alfred mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde**,** Musabayire Modeste wari gushyingirwa akicirwa umugabo ku munsi w'ubukwe ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, nawe yaje kwicwa urw'agashanyaguro, aho bafashe igiti cy'ikawa bakakimushinga mu mugongo, bamutegeka kuakigendana kugera aho bamuhambye ari muzima[81].

Hari kandi Interahamwe yicwa Charles yigaragaje mu bikorwa by'iyicarubozo muri Komini Gatonde. Karori yakubise umwana ku kibambasi cy'inzu arapfa, hari n'undi yashyize mu ziko. Abo bana bishwe urw'agashinyaguro akaba bari abo mu Bigabiro, bari abuzukuru ba Ngirumpatse[82].

Hari kandi umudamu witwaga Mukandango Yozefa, bamufashe ahunga, yerekeza kuri Komini Nyarutovu aho yakekaga ko ashobora kubonera ubutabazi, ariko Interahamwe zahise zimufata, zimwica zimusatuye inda kubera ko yari atwite, bamukuramo umwana[83].

Hari uwitwa Gahunyira Charles wiciwe Gihonga, muri Segiteri Kiriba, Serire Mbogo. Yishwe urw'agashinyaguro aho we n'umwana we Ntezimana babahambye ari bazima. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi avuga ko iyica rubozo barikorewe na Gasigwa na Ndenge bari Interahamwe kabuhariwe muri Kiriba[84].

Utazirubanda Adolphe wo muri Komini Nyarutovu atanga ubuhamya avuga ko batemaguye umugore wa Seguhirwa witwa Mukankusi Floride. Igitero cyari giturutse i Kivune cyari kiyobowe na Nayigiziki Valens cyaramufashe kiramutemagura,

81 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKAMPUNGA Claudine mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe, 2017

82 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HARERIMANA Ephigénie mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

83 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya RWANGARINDE Adrien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

84 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUTUYIMANA Marie Louise mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

gicukura icyobo ngo bamuhambe, bamuhamba ari muzima, kubwo amahirwe ntiyapfa[85].

Gufata ku ngufu abari n'abategarugori b'Abatutsikazi ni bimwe mu bikorwa byigaragaje cyane hirya no hino mu makomini yari agize Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri; bikaba byari mu mugambi wa Jenoside hagamijwe kubakomeretsa mu buryo bukomeye mu mitekerereze no ku mubiri.

Mu yahoze ari Komini Nyarutovu, umwe mu batangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi asobanura uburyo Nyirabukwe yicishijwe amabuye, babikorera ku mugezi wa *Base* nyuma bamuroha mu mazi kuburyo kugera magingo aya umubiri we utaraboneka. Uyu mutangabuhamya akomeza asobanura kandi ko hari Interahamwe yitwaga Charles wari ufite ubugome bukabije, akaba yarafataga abana akabahonda mu mihanda no kunkuta z'amazu. Hari kandi uwitwa Pascasie wishwe nabi, aho bamushinze igiti mu gitsina. Umwarimu witwaga Mutimura nawe akaba yarashishikaye cyane muri ibi bikorwa by'iyicarubozo. Rusenda, Interahamwe yamenyekanye cyane muri Nyarutovu, we yamaraga kwica Abatutsi akanywa amaraso yabo[86].

4.14. Gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Abategura Jenoside igihe cyose bategura n'uburyo bazayihakana. Ni muri urwo rwego bakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo hatazagira ikintu na kimwe kigaragaza ko habayeho umugambi wo gutegura Jenoside no kuyishyira mu bikorwa.

Mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, gusibanganya ibimenyetso byakozwe mu buryo butandukanye, nko gusenya

85 Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Gakenke, Umurenge wa Bwisha, Akagari ka Ngezi.

86 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'abatangabuhamya NDAHIRO Vincent na UWIMANA Josée mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

amazu y'Abatutsi no gukuraho ikintu cyose cyagaragaza ko aho hantu higeze gutura Abatutsi. Abayobozi babwiraga abaturage guhakanira umuntu wese wababaza ibijyanye n'iyicwa ry' Abatutsi mu gace batuyemo. Abaturage basabwaga kugira imvugo imwe, kugira ngo hatazabaho kwinyuramo igihe cyose hagira ubabaza ibijyanye n'urupfu rw'Abatutsi. Basabwaga ko bajya bavuga ko nta Mututsi wari utuye mu gace baherereyemo, cyangwa kuvuga ko bahunze bakaba baragiye ahantu runaka.

Nk'uko bivugwa n'umutangabuhamya utarahigwaga, bamaze kwica Abatutsi bari batuye muri Segiteri ya Gasizi na Segiteri ya Jenda, Burugumesitiri wa Komini Nkuli, Gatsimbanyi, tariki 12 Mata 1994 yakoresheje inama abaturage ba Segiteri ya Jenda ababwira ko igihe haramuka haje abantu babaza ibijyanye n'iyicwa ry' Abatutsi ko bazasubiza ko bahungiye Arusha. Ibi yabivuze ubwo yari yaje guhosha amakimbirane y'abicanyi bari bamaze kwica Abatutsi ariko bananiwe kugabana imirima yabo yarababajije: « *ubundi ko muri gupfa iyi mirima uwababaza banyirayo aho bagiye muzavuga iki, batari basubiza aravuga ngo uzavuga ngo barapfuye azerekana aho babahambye, ngo muzavuge ko bagiye muri Arusha* ».

Muri Komini Nyarutovu, ibikorwa byo gusibanganya ibinyetso bya Jenoside byarigaragaje cyane. Nyuma yo kwica no kumaraho imiryango, inzu zarasenywe, ibikoresho byose bakajyana, intoki ziratemagurwa, kuburyo igihe cyageze ukagirango kwa kanaka nta muntu wigeze uhatura[87].

4.15. Uruhare rw'Abari n'abagore muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Abagore bagize uruhare rukomeye haba mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Benshi mu bari n'abategarigori bagaragaye mu bikorwa byo kwica no gusahura.

87 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUTUYIMANA Marie Louise mu Karere Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

Mu gihe Jenoside yashyirwaga mu bikorwa, abagore benshi nibo barangaga aho Abatutsi bihishe, babavugiriza akaruru, Interahamwe zikabageraho byoroshye.

Iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri nayo yagaragayemo abategarugori bashishikaye mu kwitabira Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Uwari Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe alias Nyirakamodoka yagize uruhare rukomeye mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli. Nyirakamanzi Faibe alias Nyirakamodoka mwene Sekidende na Nyiragakeri, yari atuye mu kagari ka Gisozi, Umurenge wa Jenda, Ruhengeri. Akaba yari Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda.

Nk'uko yabishinjwe n'inama rusange y'Akagari ka Gisozo, Umurenge wa Jenda, Madamu Nyirakamanzi Phoibe yakoze ibyaha mu tugari dutandukanye. Yashinjwe n'inama rusange yose ko yitwaje kuba yari Konseye wa Segiteri yajyaga muri byose. Mu byaha aregwa byo mu rwego rwa mbere, harimo Gucura umugambi wa Jenoside, Gutegura Jenoside, Gushishikariza gukora Jenoside, Kugenzura no kuyobora ibikorwa bya Jenoside, Gukora ibikorwa bya Jenoside uri umuyobozi, Kwamamara mu bwicanyi, Kwica urubozo. Ubyo aregwa mu rwego rwa kabiri harimo Kwica, Kujya mu bitero, no Kujya gukora kuri bariyeri.

Nyirakamanzi Phoibe yabitangiye ibikorwa byo gutoteza Abatutsi kuva tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 kugeza Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ihagaritswe n'ingabo za FPR Inkotanyi.

Nk'uko bigarukwaho n'abatangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi:

> Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda witwaga Nyirakamanzi Phoibe yari yarashize bariyeri yitwaga Nyirantarengwa, ku Cyamabuye, ku buryo nta Mututsi waharengaga. Abatutsi bamaraga kwicwa bajugunywaga mu cyayi. Nyirakamanzi Phoibe yari yarigize indakoreka kubera

> kumva ko ashigikiwe na Bagosora. Yabaga yambaye imyenda ya gisirikare afite imbunda, bityo icyo yashakaga nicyo cyakorwaga[88].

Nyirakamanzi ni umwe mu Bakonseye bamamaye cyane mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, ndetse akaba yaricishije Abatutsi no mu tundi duce atayoboraga. Nk'uko bigarukwaho n'Umutangabuhamya:

> Usibye abasirikare babaga bayoboye ibitero, Konseye wa Segiteri ya Jenda, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe yagize uruhare runini mu gutegura Jenoside, gushishikariza no kuyobora ibitero. Nyirakamanzi niwe watanze imbunda zo kwica Abatutsi muri Segiteri ya Jenda kandi ashishikariza abaturage be kuyitabira bitwaje intwaro gakondo: imihoro, imbunda, grenades, imipanga, inkoni n'ubuhiri [89].

Muri rusange, Nyirakamanzi Phoibe yashishikarije ubwicanyi, yatanze ibikoresho by'ubwicanyi, yakoze kuri bariyeri, yaremye inama ashishikariza kwitabira Jenoside, yari afite insoresore yatoje ibya gisirikare, zajyaga kwica n'ibindi. Nyirakamanzi Phoibe akaba afungiye muri Gereza ya Ruhengeri nyuma yo guhamwa n'ibyaha bya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi.

Mubo bafatanije harimo Hategekimana mwene Rubondo na Mukamusoni afungiye muri gereza ya Ruhengeri; Nsabimana Petero mwene Rimenyande na Nyirabazamanza, yahungiye Kongo Kinshasa; Habyarimana mwene Benda na Nyirabagenzi ufungiye muri Gereza ya Gisenyi; Segisabo mwene Banyura na Bakulikiza, yahungiye muri Zayire n'abandi.

88 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

89 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse, mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Uretse Nyirakamanzi Phoibe hari kandi umugore witwa Nyirabanika nyina wa Baharambe wagize uruhare rutaziguye muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yagaragaje uruhare rwe:

> Hari umukecuru wari ushaje cyane Interahamwe zari zaranze kwica ngo ntizishaka kwikururira umuvumo kuko yari ashaje cyane, inzara n'imvura bimumereye nabi, uwo mugore agiye gukura ibijumba mu matongo y'Abatutsi bari bishwe aba aramubonye, ntakuzuyaza yahise amukubita ifuni yari agiye gukurisha ibijumba, amwica atyo, arapfa[90].

4.16. Uruhare rw'Abanyamadini muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Abanyamadini bagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, muri Segiteri ya Mukamira, Pasteur Sebiyozo[91] wo mu itorero ry'Abadiventiste rya Hesha yabwirije abitabiriye Isabato ko Abatutsi Imana yabakuyeho amaboko. Mu mwanya wo kuvuga ubutumwa bwiza yigishaga urwango. Mu rusengero rw'itorero yayoboraga niho hiciwe Abatutsi benshi, kuko bahungiyemo bazi ko batazicwa, ariko baje kwicwa kandi bamwe muri bagenzi babo basenganaga babigiramo uruhare[92].

Mu yahoze ari Komini Gatonde, abanyamadini nabo bigaragaje mu mugambi wa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yasobanuye uburyo umupadiri Rwamayanja yarangwaga n'imvugo ishishikariza Abahutu kwica Abatutsi; aho umunsi umwe yagiye gusoma misa

90 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya AKIMANA Salama mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

91 Pasteur Sebiyozo yaje gupfa nyuma ya Jenoside.

92 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

kuri *centrale* ya Rusasa maze abwira abaturage ngo *Abahutu muracyakora iki*? ashaka kuvuga ko Abahutu baho bataratangira kwica Abatutsi[93].

4.17. Abagize uruhare mu guhisha Abatutsi mu gihe cya Jenoside

Nubwo ubuyobozi bwateguye bugashyira mu bikorwa Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994, bugashishikariza abaturage bose b'Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi, bamwe mu baturage b'Abahutu bagize ubutwari ndetse bemera no guhara ubuzima bwabo kugira ngo barokore Abatutsi bahigwaga. Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu kurokora Abatutsi basobanura ko igikorwa cyo kurokora Abatutsi kitari cyoroshye, gusa ko Imana yabibafashijemo. Uwitwa Sinangumuryango Moise ubu usigaye ari umurinzi w' igihango asobanura uko we na bagenzi be babikoze :

> Mbere nabanje gutwara Nyiranzarama Suzane na Nyirabakarani Marcelline; nari kumwe na Ndagijimana Jean Bosco. Twagendaga ninjoro kandi ari ubwa mbere tugenze izo nzira, tukagenda toyubagurika, tugeze kuri Ngando ku Kabatwa dusanga baraye bahateye twigira inama yo gucukura tubataba hasi buracya tujya gutata inzira, murindi joro turabajyana tubageza muri Zayire dutyo. Abandi bo kuko twari tumaze kumenya inzira twabagezagayo bitagoranye nubwo byababaga ari ninjoro gusa iyo imvura yagwaga nibwo twumvaga tugize amahirwe atangaje. Abandi bamaze kumenya amakuru ko hari abagiraneza bari kurokora abantu, batangira kujya babatwoherereza natwe tukabajyana muri Zayire. Twabikoraga uko umuntu abonetse, uko inzira ibonetse kuko hari n'abo twabanzaga gukingirana mu cyumba bitewe n'uko

93 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya HARERIMANA Cyprien mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

> twabonaga inzira itari nziza. Nyuma twakomeje no kujya kubasura mu nkambi i Keshero aho babaga bari tukabashyira ibyo bakeneye [94].

Abandi Sinangumuryango Moise yarokoye harimo : Kayisire Anastase, Nyiramahoro (Mashuri), Nyiranzarama Suzane, Nyirabakarani Marcelline, Karakowe, Mahoro, Nyiragakobwa, Bernardi, Nyirakaromba, Seminari Anniel, Kadongi Silas, Buronye, Mwiseneza, Ngerero, Gode, Nyirabuhinja, Mariya, na Nyirarukundo.

Mu gushimira Sinangumuryango Moise wamurokoye, Kayisire Anastase yahisemo kurongora mushiki wa Sinangumuryango, kuko yumvaga nta kintu yabona yamwitura kugira ngo igihango cy'ubumwe hagati yabo gikomeze[95].

Gatanazi Berchmans nawe avuga ko hari abaturage bo mu bwoko bw'Abahutu babashije kubahisha, babahungishiriza muri Zayire. Nk' uko abisobanura, ababarokoye babikoze mu buryo bugoranye kuko hari aho bageraga bagacukura imyobo yo kubahishamo ndetse no gutanga amafaranga yabo kugira ngo babatambutse[96].

Mu babashije kurokora Abatutsi muri Komini Gatonde, umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi yavuze umudamu witwa Goreti :

> Hari umugore witwa Goreti wo muri Janja wakoraga mu kigo cy'imfubyi, bagenzi be bagashaka gutanga abana babaga bahahungiye ngo babice akabyanga kugera aho abafashe abahungana muri Kongo,

94 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

95 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

96 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya GATANAZI Berchmans mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

arabarokora. Mubo yarokoye twavuga Mutuyimana Gerardine, Twagirayezu Jean Claude, Wellars na Musindi. Hari kandi uwitwa Bijyiyobyenda wari utuye muri Segiteri Kivumu muri Janja, Serire Gatongo (Janja-Gashyamba), yahishe abantu, akagerageza no kubambutsa abajyana i Gitarama, gusa icyababaje ni uko yaje kwicwa n'Abacengezi. Na none twavuga umugore wa Ruzindana utuye mu Murenge wa Janja wahungiweho na Karangayire Forodonata Interahamwe zamutemaguye, aramwakira, aramubana, aramwomora kugera akize[97].

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IGICE CYA GATANU : INGARUKA ZA JENOSIDE N'IMIBANIRE Y'ABANYARWANDA NYUMA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI

5.1 Ingaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Nubwo ingaruka za Jenoside zari nyinshi cyane nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Leta yakoze ibishoboka kugira ngo zigabanuke. Abarokotse Jenoside bavuga ko ubu ibibazo bituruka ku ngaruka za Jenoside bigenda bigabanuka, bose bafite amacumbi nubwo bamwe mu barokotse Jenoside bavuga ko amazu bubakiwe yangiritse akeneye kuvugururwa kubera ko yubatswe kera. Uretse amacumbi, abana barokotse Jenoside bafashijwe na Leta babasha kwiga ndetse n'incike zirafashwa.

Ibibazo abarokotse Jenoside bafite muri iki gihe harimo iby'imitungo yangijwe muri Jenoside itarishyurwa, imibiri itaraboneka ngo ishyingurwe, abagifite ubumuga bukomoka kuri Jenoside n'ihungabana [98].

Abarokotse Jenoside bavuga kandi ko hakiri ikibazo cy'ihungabana riterwa akenshi no kutagira ababitaho n'imibereho itari myiza[99]. Nk' uko babivuga, igitera ihungabana cyane ni ukuba hari abarokotse Jenoside batarabasha gushyingura abagize imiryango yabo bishwe muri Jenoside. Kuba abagize uruhare muri Jenoside badafite ubushake bwo kugaragaza aho abo bishe bajugunywe, bishengura imitima y'abarokotse Jenoside, bikabaviramo ihungabana. Umutangabuhamya utarashyingura agira ati :

98 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

99 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> Nari nzi ko muri Gacaca nzabasha kumenya amakuru y' aho umuryango wanjye wiciwe. Bamwe mu bagize uruhare mu kubica, baratubwiraga ngo tujye gushakira ahantu runaka, twahagera tukababura, tukiririrwa duhinga ariko ntitubabone. Byarambabaje cyane. Kubera ko ntazi uburyo bishwemo n'aho imibiri yabo iri, bintera ihungabana ridashira[100].

Zimwe mu ngaruka za Jenoside zigihari n'uko abarokotse Jenoside bavuga ko bibagora kujya guhinga amasambu yabo kuko abarizwa aho bari batuye kandi ubu bakaba baratujwe mu midugudu itegeranye n'amasambu yabo[101].

Mu bibazo abacitse ku icumu bafite, harimo kandi ikibazo cy'inkunga bahabwa buri mezi atatu itabonekera igihe. Kuba iyo nkunga itabonekera igihe kandi ariyo ibatunze, bituma bahangayika ndetse bakabura ikibabeshaho igihe yatinze[102].

5.2 Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

Nyuma yo guhagarika Jenoside, ingabo zatsinzwe za FAR zakomeje guhungabanya umutekano w' u Rwanda. Umutangabuhamya wabayeho umusirikare wa FAR avuga ko nyuma yo gutsindwa bahungiye mu yahoze ari Zayire mu rwego rwo kwisuganya ngo bavaneho ubutegetsi bwa FPR-Inkotanyi.

Nk'uko asobanura, mu kwezi kwa gatanu, *Etat Major* y' ingabo za FAR yabaga muri *Lac Vert*, iyoborwa na *General* Bizimungu Augustin. *Etat Major* ikaba yari igizwe na *Division* ebyiri, imwe

100 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya TUYISHIME Charlotte mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

101 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKASONGA Perusi mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

102 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SIBOMANA Samuel mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

ya *Nord Kivu*, iyoborwa na *Colonel* Renzaho Tharcisse n'aho iya *Sud-Kivu* iyoborwa na *Colonel* Ngabo Aloys yakoreraga i Bukavu mu Nkambi ya Panzi [103].

Umutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko icyo ingabo zatsinzwe FAR zari zigamije kwari ukuvanaho ubutegetsi no kwica Umututsi warokotse Jenoside n'undi wese wifatanije n'Inkotanyi. Niyo mpamvu mu gihe abacengezi bagabaga ibitero mu mwaka wa 1997 nuwa 1998, bibasiraga cyane cyane abarokotse Jenoside n'Abahutu banze kwifatanya na Leta yakoze Jenoside .

Umutangabuhamya wabaye umuyobozi mu ngabo za FAR, avuga kandi ko nyuma yaho Kabila avanyeho Perezida Mobutu, bahungiye mu gihugu cya Congo Brazaville. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1998, Perezida Laurent Desiré Kabila yabatumyeho aho bari bari muri Congo Brazaville, ababwira ko bamufasha bagakuraho ingoma y'Abatutsi. Ni muri urwo rwego mu myaka ya 1997 na 1998 bakomeje guhungabanya umutekano w' u Rwanda, cyane cyane bibasira uwitwa Umututsi[104].

Kubera ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yari nyinshi mu baturage nyuma ya Jenoside wasangaga abaturage bafatanije n'abacengezi mu guhungabanya umutekano w' Igihugu no kwica Abatutsi bari barokotse Jenoside. Umutangabuhamya wari utuye mu yahoze ari Komini Nyamutera asobanura ko :

> Mu 1998, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yari nyinshi cyane mu baturage kubera ko aribo bagemuriraga abacengezi ibyo kurya. Iyo umusirikare w'Inkotanyi yatambukaga, abaturage bahitaga bamwica kuko babaga bafite imbunda bahawe n'abacengezi cyangwa

103 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

104 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

> bagatungira agatoki abacengezi bakamwica. Urumva ko abaturage bari bagifite ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside yo hejuru[105].

Mu rwego rwo kurwanya abacengezi, Leta yashishikarije abaturage kwitandukanya nabo, hamwe no kwegerwa n'ubuyobozi abaturage basanga ibyo kwifatanya n'abacengezi no gushyigikira amacakubiri ntaho byabageza.

Ku bijyanye n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, Jenoside ikirangira hariho kwishishanya hagati y' Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Umutangabuhamya warokotse Jenoside abisobanura muri aya magambo:

> Byari bibi cyane kuko hariho kwishishanya cyane kuko Umuhutu yatinyaga Umututsi kubera ko bari barishe ababo kandi n'Umututsi yumvaga ataturana n'Umuhutu kubera ko yamwiciye; ariko kubera Leta nziza ishishikajwe n'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ubu abantu babanye neza nubwo hakiri ibisigisigi bike bigaragaza ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, ariko bisigaye hake cyane[106].

Kubera ubuyobozi bwiza Igihugu gifite, abaturage babanye neza, abagize uruhare muri Jenoside n'abarokotse Jenoside ntabwo bakishishanya. Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi agira ati :

> Ubu tubanye neza, kuko inyigisho duhabwa zijyanye na Ndi Umunyarwanda zifasha abantu benshi, zikababakura mu by'amako. Ubu twiyumva turi Abanyarwanda, nta rwikekwe rukigaragara. Iyo ngiye gusaba servisi ku

105 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NSENGIMANA Alfred mu Karere ka Gakenke, Werurwe 2017

106 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDAYAMBAJE Placide, Kigali, Gashyantare 2017

> kagali, ntabwo bansubiza inyuma ngo ndi Umututsi cyangwa Umuhutu, no kwa muganga, bamvura badakurikije icyo ndicyo, banyakira nk' abandi bose[107].

Nkuko abatangabuhamya bavuga, kubera ko ubumwe bw' Abanyarwanda bwari bwaramaze gusenyuka, hariho kwishishanya hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Kwishishanya bigira intera yo hejuru, cyane cyane mu gihe cy'abacengezi mu 1997 na 1998. Nyuma y'aho Leta ishyize imbaraga nyinshi muri gahunda z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, kwishishanya n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside byaragagabanutse cyane n'ubwo hari aho bikigaragara kuri bamwe. Umutangabuhamya wagize uruhare mu kurokora Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli asobanura ukwishishanya muri aya magambo :

> Nubwo leta yagiye igira uruhare runini kugirango ingaruka za Jenoside zigabanuke, usanga hari aho ubwishishanye bukiri, bufite ukuntu bwihishe mu mitima ya bamwe, abantu ntibisanzuraneho uko bikwiye. Nkuko nabivuze biba mu mitima kuko nk'iyo FDLR irashe ku butaka bw' u Rwanda, hari abaturage bamwe usanga ntacyo bibabwiye ahubwo bati wenda iyaba byari byigiye hafi. Ariko ubu kubera ko muri rusange abaturage bashishikajwe no kwiteza imbere, ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside no kwishishanya bigenda bigabanuka kuburyo bisigaye muri bake cyane[108].

Muri rusange, nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi abaturage babanye neza. Umwe mu batangabuhamya utarahigwaga avuga ko :

107 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUHIMPUNDU Tabéa mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

108 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> Ubu imibanire imeze neza, nta rwikekwe ruhari. Hari Abatutsi duturanye bafite inka muri Gishwati, buri munsi banzanira amata. Iyo bageze murugo, basanga twateguye ibyo kurya, tugasangira. Urumva ko tubanye neza[109].

5.3 Uruhare rw' Inkiko Gacaca mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge

Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, gahunda zitandukanye zigamije kubanisha no kunga Abanyarwanda zashyizweho, harimo n'Inkiko Gacaca. Inkiko Gacaca zikaba zaragize uruhare runini mu kugaragaza ukuri kujyanye n'amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Bamwe mu bagize uruhare muri Jenoside babasha kwerekana aho imibiri y'abishwe bajugunywe, bityo bifasha abarokotse Jenoside gushyingura ababo mu cyubahiro.

Uruhare rw' Inkiko Gacaca rusobanurwa n'umutangabuhamya muri aya magambo: nubwo wenda atari 100% kuko ni nka 90%, hari amakuru atari kuzamenyekana inkiko Gacaca zagaragaje kandi hari bamwe bagize uruhari mu kugaragaza imibiri[110].

Inkiko Gacaca zagize uruhare mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge. Umwe mu barokotse Jenoside yemeza ko :

> Kubera Inkiko Gacaca yabashije kumenya ukuri ndetse abasha kumenya aho abavandimwe be bajugunywe bityo abasha kubashyingura mu cyubahiro. Kubera kumenya ukuri byatumye abasha kubabarira abamwiciye abavandimwe, ubu bakaba babanye neza[111].

109 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUHIMPUNDU Tabéa mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

110 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

111 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

Undi mutangabuhamya nawe yemeza ko : "*Gacaca zafashije mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge, bamwe barireze bemera icyaha n'ubwo atari bose abandi bavuga aho imirambo bayishyize bityo biradufash*a"[112].

Kwemera icyaha no gusaba imbabazi kw' abagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi byatumye abarokotse Jenoside bazibaha, bishimangira ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu muryango nyarwanda. Umutangabuhamya warokotse Jenoside avuga ko:

> Hari nk'umuntu wishe iwacu, kumwe bajyaga babazana mu ma Secteur bavukamo, aravuga ati ikimbabaza n'uko umuryango wo kwa kanaka twawishe kandi ari batwubakiye, baratugabiye inka, ati iyo ntekereje ibyiza yajyaga adukorera mba numva no gupfa napfa, arangije arabivuga byose uko byagenze, bati ese waba uziko hari abana be barokotse? Ati ntabyo nzi, ati nk'ubu ngize amahirwe nkabona hari umwana we warotse nkamusaba imbabazi nashaka ngapfa, sinkubeshye Nkulikije ukuntu numva yabivuze, avugamo na Bazirushako ukuntu ariwe wari ubayoboye afite n'imbunda, turagenda turamusuhuza, turamubwira tuti turakubabariye rwose ntakibazo. Nyuma y'ibyo byose ubuyobozi bwatubaye hafi, ubu turabana tugasabana, duhana inka, tugashyingirana ariko tubikesha ubuyobozi bwiza[113].

Ku bijyanye n'ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, abatangabuhamya bavuga ko ikigaragara kuri bamwe na bamwe usibye ko itakimeze nko mu myaka yashyize. Abatangabuhamya bavuga ko ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside igaragara cyane kuri bamwe bagifite abavandimwe cyangwa inshuti zabo ziba muri Kongo,

112 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDUWAYEZU Elie mu Karere ka Musanze, Werurwe 2017

113 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya NDUWAYEZU Elie mu Karere ka Musanze, Gashyantare 2017

zahunze kubera uruhare bagize muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Ikaba ikunda kugaragara cyane cyane mu gihe cyo kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, aho usanga abayifite babwira abarokotse Jenoside amagambo asesereza, iterabwoba no konona imyaka yabo. Nk'uko bisobanurwa n'Umutangabuhamya muri ubu bushakashatsi wo mu yahoze ari Komini Nkumba:

> Muri aka gace ntabwo ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikigaragara cyane, gusa nta wamenya imitima y'abantu, ariko ubona yaragabanutse nubwo mu minsi yashyize hari umuntu wigeze gushyira mu gaseke igiceri cya kera kitagifite agaciro. Muri macye ubona hari ikintu gikomeye Leta yakoze cyo kubanisha Abanyarwanda[114].

Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikunze kugaragara cyane mu gihe cyo kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi. Abandi bagifite ingengabitekerezo ni abahohotera abacitse ku icumu aho usanga bababwira amagambo abakomeretsa cyanga bakonona imyaka yabo[115].

Undi mutangabuhamya akomeza avuga ko:

> Ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ikunze kugaragara mu gihe cy'icyunamo ariko nabwo si cyane nka mbere, usanga nk'utuntu tw'utugambo dusesereza wenda ngo ariko ko tujya kwibuka, abacu bo ngo tuzabibuka ryari? bakitiranya intambara na Jenoside kuko hano habaye intambara z'abacengezi[116]. Ibyo bigatuma hari abagira ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside

114 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya MUKASONGA Perusi mu Karere ka Burera, Werurwe 2017

115 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya KAYISIRE Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

116 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

> aho bagaragarwaho n'amagambo avuga ngo mbese ababo bazabunamira ryari, bijujuta bavuga ngo mbese kwibuka bizarangira ryari.

Abatangabuhamya bavuga kandi ko inkiko Gacaca zafashije mu guhana abagize uruhare muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ko ndetse hari na bamwe bihannye bemera icyaha bakoze, bituma ukuri kuri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kubasha kumenyekana. Gusa, ikibazo cy' indishyi z' imitungo yangirijwe mu gihe cya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi nicyo kikigaragara nk'imbogamizi y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge hagati y'abarokotse n'abagize uruhare muri Jenoside. Umutangabuhamya warokotse abisobanura mu magambo akurikira: *" Ikibazo gihari kugeza ubu, ni ikijyanye n'imitungo yangirijwe muri Jenoside, aho abayangirije badashaka kwishyura ibyo bangirije, ibyo tukaba tubibona nk' imbogamizi mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge*"[117].

Mu rwego rwo kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside, abatangabuhamya bavuga ko ubukangurambaga ari ngombwa ariko cyane cyane hakibandwa ku bana bakiri bato, kuko usanga ababyeyi bagifite ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside baroga abo bana.

Mu rwego rwo kurandura ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside ni ngombwa ko abakuze babaye mu bihe by' ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda na Habyarimana nabo bakwegerwa bakigishwa gahunda ya Ndi Umunyarwanda.

117 Ikiganiro abashakashatsi bagiranye n'umutangabuhamya JURU Anastase mu Karere ka Nyabihu, Gashyantare 2017

UMWANZURO

Ubushakashatsi ku mateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri bugizwe n'ibice bitanu by'ingenzi.

Igice cya mbere kivuga ku mibereho y'Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Gitangira cyerekana intandaro y'ibikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi mu 1959, kikagaragaza uko Abatutsi baciriwe mu Bugesera n'umugambi wari inyuma y'icyo gikorwa, ibikorwa byakurikiye imeneshwa ryabo, harimo kubarura no kugurisha inka zabo no kwigarurira amasambu yabo, kutagira uburenganzira ku mitungo yabo yasigaye ubwo bahungaga, igihe babaga bagarutse mu duce bari batuyemo. Iki gice na none kivuga ku bikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu 1973, ihezwa, ivangura n'amacakubiri byakorerwaga Abatutsi, iyirukanwa ry'Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu mirimo mu nzego za Leta byakozwe mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kayibanda Grégoire na Habyarimana Juvénal kugeza mu 1990.

Igice cya kabiri kivuga ku bikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1993. Muri ibyo bikorwa hagaragaramo: gufunga no kwica Abatutsi babita ibyitso by'Inkotanyi; Kwica Abatutsi binyuze muri gahunda yo gukora amarondo; Kunyaga Abatutsi imitungo yabo bababeshyera gukorana na FPR-Inkotanyi; kubaheza no kubatoteza mu buryo butandukanye. Iki gice na none kivuga ku bwicanyi mu buryo bweruye bwakorewe Abatutsi b'Abagogwe mu yahoze ari Komini Nkuli, Mukingo, Kinigi, Kigombe, Nkumba na Kidaho, imyigaragambyo y'abarwanashyaka ba MRND na CDR yabaye muri Mutarama 1993 n'ingaruka byagize ku Batutsi bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri. Nubwo raporo zitandukanye z'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta n'imiryango mpuzamahanga zagaragazaga ko ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana

bwagize uruhare mu iyicwa ry'Abatutsi, Leta ya Habyarimana yo yabihakanaga yivuye inyuma ikavuga ko itigeze igira uruhare mu iyicwa ryabo, ndetse yanga nkana gukora iperereza ku bwicanyi bwakorewe Abagogwe igaragaza ko mu gihe anketi yakorwa byakongera kugarura umwiryane mu baturage.

Igice cya gatatu kigaragaza uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegiturra ya Ruhengeri. Muri ubwo buryo, harimo Gushishikariza urwango, amacakubiri n'ubwicanyi binyuze mu nama zakoreshwaga; gutegura lisiti y'Abatutsi bagomba kwicwa; gushyiraho imitwe yitwara gisirikare harimo umutwe w'Interahamwe, uw'Amahindure, Uw'Abazulu, uw'Intarumikwa, Turihose na *Virunga Force*. Ibindi bikorwa byakozwe mu gutegura Jenoside harimo Gutanga imbunda na za *grenade*s mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare, mu baturage basanzwe no ku bayobozi nka ba Konseye na ba Burugumesitiri n'undi wese wabyifuzaga.

Igice cya kane kivuga ku ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri, kigaragaza ahantu hatandukanye hiciwe Abatutsi benshi muri iyo Perefegitura. Iki gice na none kigaragaza uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yashyizwe mu bikorwa mu makomini atandukanye, ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo, gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside, uruhare rw'abari n'abagore, uruhare rw'abanyamadini n'abagize uruhare mu kurokora Abatutsi mu gihe cya Jenoside.

Igice cya nyuma aricyo cya gatanu kivuga ku ngaruka za Jenoside, imibanire y'Abanyarwanda nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi n'uruhare rw'Inkiko Gacaca mu bumwe n'ubwiyunge.

Ubu bushakashatsi n'intangiriro y'urugendo rurerure mu kwandika amateka ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi kubera ko ari igikorwa kitarangira, gihora gisubirwamo cyangwa gikosorwa uko amakuru n'ibimenyetso bishya bigenda biboneka. Ubu

bushakashatsi ntabwo bwabashije kugaragaza amazina y'abazize Jenoside n'abagize uruhare muri Jenoside, bityo hakaba hakenewe ubundi bushakashatsi bwacukumbura uko Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe igashyirwa mu bikorwa muri buri Komini yari igize iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri hagaragazwa amazina y'abazize Jenoside n'abayigizemo uruhare.

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- Uwimana Amos (1993), Ibaruwa yo kuwa 27/9/1993 UWIMANA Amos yandikiye Minisitiri w'Ingabo z'Igihugu asaba gutizwa imbunda.

Inyandiko za Gacaca zifashishijwe

- Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, umurenge wa Muhoza, Akagari ka Bwuzuri.

- Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Muhoza, Akagari ka Rukoro.

- Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Musanze, Umurenge wa Kabaya, Akagari ka Kabatembagara.

- Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Mugogo.

- Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Kinoni.

- Inyandiko z'Inkiko Gacaca, Intara ya Ruhengeri, Akarere ka Nyabihu, Umurenge wa Busogo, Akagari ka Kagezi.

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UMUGEREKA

INYOBORA KIGANIRO (INTERVIEW GUIDE)

Mbere yo gutangira ikiganiro, umushakashatsi arabanza yibwire uwo bagiye kuganira, amubwire impamvu y'ubushakashatsi nicyo bugamije, amwizeza ko ibyo baza kuganira ari ibanga hagati yabo bombi, kandi ko amazina ye nta nahamwe azigera agaragara.

Umwirondoro w'ubazwa

Amazina (asimburwa n'inyuguti imwe cyangwa ebyiri):
Igihe yavukiye :
Igitsina :
Irangamimerere :
Aho yaratuye mbere ya Jenoside (hagati ya 1990 -1994):
Aho yaratuye mu gihe cya Jenoside (Mata 1994):
Aho Jenoside yabaye ari :
Aho atuye ubu (Akarere, umurenge, Akagari, umudugudu):
Amashuri yize :
Idini asengeramo :

Ingingo ya mbere: Imibanire y'Abanyarwanda mbere ya 1959

- Mbere ya 1959, agace mwari mutuyemo kitwaga iyihe sheferi? Ni nde wayoboraga iyo sheferi? Sushefri yitwaga ite? Sushefu yitwaga nde?
- Mbere ya 1959, abaturage bari babanye bate mu gace mwari mutuyemo?
- Gucikamo ibice mu Banyarwanda byatangiye ryari? Byatewe n'iki? Ni bande babigizemo uruhare?

- Ni iki wibuka ku byerekeye bikorwa by'urugomo n'ubwicanyi byakorewe Abatutsi mu 1959 ? Byagenze gute mu gace mwari mutuyemo ?

Ingingo ya 2: Imibanire y'abaturage bari batuye mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa perezida Kayibanda

- Ubutegetsi n'imibanire byari bimeze bite mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Grégoire Kayibanda (1962-1973) ?

- Abaturage bose bafatwaga kimwe no guhabwa amahirwe angana? Niba ari yego cyangwa oya, sobanura.

- Haba hari ibikorwa by'ivangura n'itotezwa byakorerwaga Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda?

- Haba harabayeho ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi mu gace mwari mutuyemo mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda? Niba ari yego, ubwo bwicanyi bwabaye ryari? Bwatewe n'iki? Ni bande bari kwisonga? Ababigizemo uruhare ni bande? Ni izihe ntwaro zakoreshejwe?

Ingingo ya 3: Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa perezida Juvénal Habyarimana mbere ya 1990

- Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa perezida Juvénal Habyarimana mbere ya 1990, imibanire y'abaturage yari imeze ite? Abaturage bose bafatwaga kimwe?

- Haba hari ibikorwa by'ivangura, itotezwa no guhezwa byakorerwaga Abatutsi mbere ya 1990? Niba ari yego byakorwaga bite?

- Ese hari icyo uzi cyangwa wumvise kuri politiki y'iringaniza? Niba ari yego, iyo politiki yari imeze ite? (mu kazi, mu mashuri, mu gisirikare n'ibindi).

Ingingo ya 4: Ibikorwa by'ivangura, urugomo n'ubwicanyi hagati ya 1990 kugera 1993

- Nyuma y'igitero cya RPF Inkotanyi cyo kubohora Igihugu mu Kwakira 1990, byagenze gute mu gace mwari mutuyemo?

- Hari ibikorwa byo gutesha agaciro, iby'urugomo, ubwicanyi byabereye mu karere mwari mutuyemo hagati ya 1990 na 1993? Niba ari yego, Ibyo bikorwa byabereye he? ryari? Byibasiraga bande? Ni bande babigizemo uruhare?

- Haba hari abayobozi mu butegetsi bwite bwa Leta, abakuru b'amashyaka, abashinzwe umutekano wibuka bari ku isonga y'ibyo bikorwa?

- Ni ubuhe buryo bwakoreshwaga n'abayobozi (aba gisivili n'abashinzwe umutekano) mu gushishikariza abaturage urwango n'ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi?

- Ni iki bizezaga abaturage baramutse bakoze ibyo babasabaga? Haba hari abo muzi babihawe?

- Uretse ubwicanyi, haba harabaye ubuhunzi bw'abatotezwaga muri aka karere mbere ya 1994? Niba byarabaye bahungiyehe? Babifashwagamo na bande?

- Haba hari uruhare amashyaka ya politiki, imitwe yitwara gisirikare, abayobozi ba gisivili, abashinzwe umutekano n' abarezi bagize mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi hagati ya 1990 na 1994?

Ingingo ya 5: Uburyo bwakoreshejwe mu gutegura Jenoside

- Haba hari inama zakoreshejwe zikangurira Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi? Niba ari yego, zakoreshejwe na ba nde, ryari kandi hehe?

- Haba hari ubundi buryo bwakoreshejwe mu gushishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi? Niba ari yego ni ubuhe?

- Haba hari ibiganiro mbwirwa ruhame (meeting) wibuka byabaye muri aka gace mwari mutuyemo hagati ya 1990-1994 bishishikariza Abahutu kwanga no kwica Abatutsi? Niba ari yego, ibyo biganiro byabaye ryari? Byabereye hehe? Byayobowe na bande? Ni ubuhe butumwa bwavugiwe muri ibyo biganiro?

- Nyuma y'ibyo biganiro imyitwarire y'abaturage yagenze ite?

- Mu gace mwari mutuyemo, haba harabayeho gutoza imitwe yitwara gisirikare? Niba ari yego, ni iyihe? batorejwe he? batozwaga na bande? Byatangiye ryari?

- Mu gace mwari mutuyemo, haba harabayeho gutanga imbunda, grenades cyangwa intwaro gakondo mu baturage? Niba ari yego, ni bande bazitangaga, zahabwaga bande, zatanzwe guhera ryari ?

Ingingo ya 6 : Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu yahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri

- Mbere y'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Habyarimana, umutekano w'abaturage muri rusange wari umeze ute muri aka karere mwari mutuyemo ? Umutekano w'Abatutsi bari batuye muri aka gace wari umeze ? Nyuma y'ihanurwa ry'indege, byagenze gute ?

- Ni ayahe matariki y'ingenzi wibuka Jenoside yaba yaratangiriyeho, n'aho yatangiriye mbere yuko ikwirakwizwa mu gace mwari mutuyemo ?

- Ni abahe bantu bari ku isonga mu gukangurira abaturage kwitabira ibikorwa bya Jenoside muri aka karere ?

- Ni ibihe bikoresho byakoreshejwe muri Jenoside muri aka karere mutuyemo ? Ibyo bikoresho byavuye he? Byakoreshejwe na bande (imitwe yitwara gisirikare, abaturage basanzwe,)?

- Ni ubuhe buryo bwakoreshejwe kugira ngo byorohere abicanyi kugera kubo bashaka kwica?

- Haba harabayeho kugerageza kwirwanaho kw'abicwaga mbere yuko bicwa? Niba ari yego cyangwa oya, Sobanura.

- Ni hehe wibuka hiciwe abantu benshi mu karere mwari mutuyemo? Abamaze kwicwa bashyirwaga hehe?

- Haba harabayeho ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo byakorerwaga Abatutsi bicwaga mu gihe cya Jenoside? Niba ari yego ni ibihe? Ni bande wibuka babikoze? Abo wibuka babikorewe ni bande?

- Haba harabayeho gusibanganya ibimenyetso bya Jenoside mu gihe yashyirwaga mu bikorwa na nyuma yaho? Niba ari yego, byakorwaga bite? Ni bande babigizemo uruhare?

Ingingo ya 7: Urutonde rw'abagize uruhare mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

- Watubwira amazina y'abagize uruhare mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu gace mwari mutuyemo?

Ingingo ya 8: Urutonde rw'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi

- Watubwira amazina y'abazize Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi mu gace mwari mutuyemo?

Ingingo ya 9: Ingaruka za Jenoside

- Ni izihe ngaruka za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi zikigaragara mu gace mutuyemo?

Ingingo ya 10: Imibanire y'abatuye iyahoze ari Perefegitura ya Ruhengeri nyuma ya Jenoside

- Nyuma ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ubona abaturage babanye bate?

- Ese haba hari ibikorwa byo kwishishanya n'urwicyekwe bigaragara hagati y'abaturage mu gace mutuyemo? Niba ari yego, Ni ibihe? Ubona byaba biterwa n'iki?

MURAKOZE

URUTONDE RW'ABATANGABUHAMYA KU MATEKA YA JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI MU YAHOZE ARI PEREFEGITURA YA RUHENGERI

Nº	AMAZINA Y'ABATANGABUHAMYA
1.	AKIMANIZANYE Judith
2.	AKIMANIZANYE Salama
3.	BAGANAHE Ildéphonse
4.	BANTEZIMINSI Albert
5.	BARARWEREKANA Emmanuel
6.	BATAMULIZA Mwamini
7.	BAZAMARANA Joseph
8.	BAZIRUSHAKA Athanase
9.	BAZUBAGIRA Mariam
10.	BIGIRINSHUTI Joseph
11.	BUHIGIRO Cassien
12.	BUSENI MUNYEJABO Enock
13.	Col. MBARUSHIMANA Etienne alias BANTU
14.	Col. NIZEYIMANA Wenceslas
15.	GAFEBU Pierre Claver
16.	GAKIGA Jean Chrysostome
17.	GATANAZI Berchmans
18.	HABIMANA Cyprien
19.	HABIMANA Innocent
20.	HARERIMANA Déogratias
21.	HARERIMANA Ephigénie
22.	HATEGEKIMANA Athanase
23.	HODARI Jean Damascène
24.	JURU Anastase
25.	KANDINGA Marthe

26.	KANYARWUNGA Dieudoné
27.	KARAMBIZI Donat
28.	KASIRE Judith
29.	KAVUMU Siméon
30.	KAYISIRE Anastase
31.	KAYITESI Chantal
32.	Major NDAYAMBAJE Placide
33.	MINANI François
34.	MPAMO Thomas
35.	MPERABAGABO Pierre
36.	MPETA Ennias
37.	MUHIMPUNDU Tabéa
38.	MUKAGAKWAYA Julienne
39.	MUKAMANA Alphonsine
40.	MUKAMPFIZI Astérie
41.	MUKAMPUNGA Claudine
42.	MUKAMUGEMA Annonciata
43.	MUKAMURENZI Séraphine
44.	MUKAMURIGO Dévota
45.	MUKAMUSONI Espérance
46.	MUKANDANGA Primitive
47.	MUKANKUSI Dorothée
48.	MUKANKUSI Pascasie
49.	MUKARUZIGA Valentine
50.	MUKASONGA Perusi
51.	MUKAYIZERA Marthe
52.	MUNYANGANIZI Martin
53.	MUNYARUGURU André
54.	MURANGAMIRWA Théodore

55.	MUREKEZI NIYONGABO Daniel
56.	MUSABYIMANA Dorothé
57.	MUTUYIMANA Marie Louise
58.	MUTUYIMANA Mireille
59.	NDAGIJIMANA Jean Bosco
60.	NDAHIRO Vincent
61.	NDAJIMANA Jerôme
62.	NDANGUZA François
63.	NDIBABAJE Assiel
64.	NDUWAYEZU Elie
65.	NGABONZIZA Damien
66.	NGARUKIYINTWARI Jean Népomuscène
67.	NGARUYE Ignace
68.	NGEREJAHO Espérance
69.	NIYONSABA Fabien
70.	NIZEYIMANA Gabriel
71.	NKIRANUYE Jean Damascène
72.	NSABIMANA Alphonse
73.	NSENGIMANA Alfred
74.	NTACYONUNGUTSE Bélancille
75.	NTAKAZARIMARA Bélancille
76.	NTANTURO Elias
77.	NTEZIYAREMYE Jonas
78.	NTIBENDA Boniface
79.	NTUNGIYEHE Gervais
80.	NYIRABABERUKA Immaculée
81.	NGIRABANYIGINYA Casimir
82.	NYIRABARI Catherine
83.	NYIRABEGA Godelive

84.	NYIRACUMI Anne Marie
85.	NYIRAGUHIRWA Laurence
86.	NYIRAKAREHE Elina
87.	NYIRAMAKUBA Josephine
88.	NYIRAMATABARO Jeanne d'Arc
89.	NYIRANEZA Berancille
90.	NYIRANEZA Justine
91.	NYIRARUNYANGE Agnès
92.	NYIRASAFARI Sawira
93.	NZABAZA Jean Pierre
94.	NZAMUYE Adrien
95.	NZANZIMANA Dasani
96.	NZITABAKUZE Claver
97.	Prof NSENGIMANA Joseph
98.	Prof Senateur NKUSI Laurent
99.	RUVUGABIGWI Hodar
100.	RWANGARINDE Adrien
101.	SAFARI Enock
102.	SEBASORE Javan
103.	SEMIKORE Pasteur
104.	SENYANA Gaétan
105.	SHARAMANZI Alphonse
106.	SIBOMANA Samuel
107.	SINANGUMURYANGO Moïse
108.	TUYISHIME Charlotte
109.	UWAMAHORO Espérance
110.	UWAYEZU Immaculée
111.	UWIMANA Thérèse
112.	UWIMANA Josée